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Supply-Side Algebra —See page 611

NATIONAL REVIEW

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THEY STAND IN THE WAY OF REAGAN'S ECONOMIC PROGRAM

Donald Lambro

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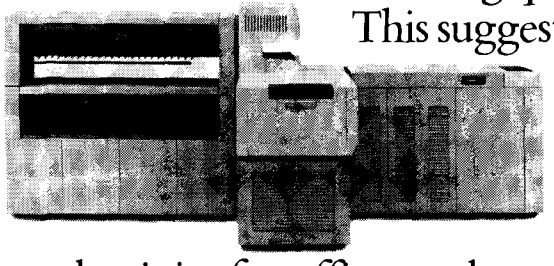

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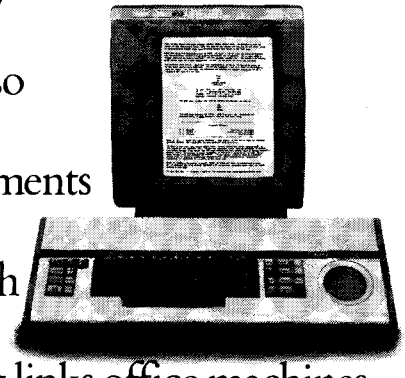

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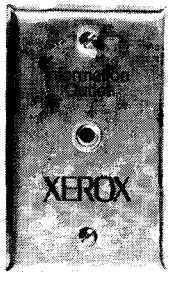

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NATIONAL REVIEW

MAY 29, 1981
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605 Kemp-Roth Meets the O'Neill Gang

It won't be easy. The old boys in the House have redistribution in their bones. Their kept economists tell them the little they want to hear, all of which is wrong: in sum, they are convinced it's bad for the economy to let folks spend their own money. In the short run they are capitulating to the manifest will of the people. But in the long run, they will try to tear the Reagan budget to ribbons.

Donald Lambro

Articles & Columns

602 Armstrong's Arrival

"I'm in the radio business," he announces. He's also in the political business, being a senator from Colorado, but first things first. *Qua* radio exec, he favors a balanced budget *and* the supply side.

Neal B. Freeman

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If it continues on its present course, the Soviet empire is done for. We should consider the implications of this fact as lucidly as the Kremlin's logicians must be doing. *Brian Crozier*

611 Algebra Made . . . Understandable

For two decades now, a false aura of mysterious expertise has surrounded the New Math and its, er, exponents. During that time students' math skills have sunk, sunk, sunk. An enterprising teacher explains how he discovered a better way, with astounding results.

John Saxon

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So far the Administration has left the moral arguments to its enemies. This is a strategic mistake—and a needless one. *Michael Novak*

Books Arts & Manners

616 Is terrorism merely the expression of indigenous aspirations, rooted in local societal ills? Claire Sterling thought so, until she examined *The Terror Network*. **Alan L. Miller** applauds her researches. . . . George Frederickson's *White Supremacy* looks afresh at racist ideologies, and casts a subtle light, says **Jack Chatfield**, on what has heretofore been more denounced than studied. . . . **Jeffrey Hart** finds a sunny variety in the *Selected Letters* of Ernest Hemingway. The selection is enormous: 948 pages. . . . Walter Abish's *How German Is It* puts **Nereo E. Condini** in mind of the master—Henry James. . . . Alexander Theroux's *Darconville's Cat* puts **J. O. Tate** in mind of divers masters, including Rabelais and Dostoyevsky. . . . **James M. Rawley** examines two poets, one good and flashy, one just good. . . . **Ruth Berenson** finds much to praise in an exhibition of nineteenth century Germany painting, whose merits, not to mention existence, have long passed unmarked. . . . **Joseph Sobran** muses on Janet Cooke and the putative "adversary relationship" between the media and the government—or at least selected segments of the government.

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Cover design by James W. O'Bryan; photos from Wide World

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THREE SURVEYS REVEAL AN EMERGING CONSENSUS ON THE NEED FOR AMERICA TO BE MORE COMPETITIVE IN THE WORLD.

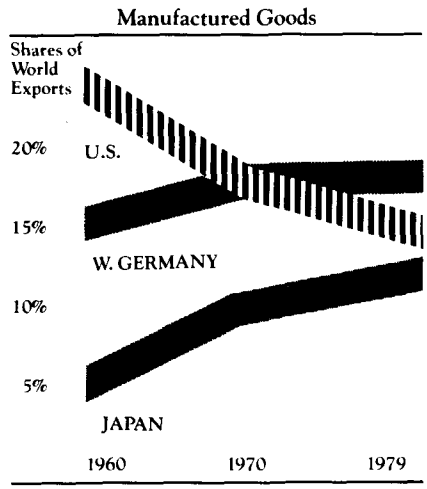
For the past year and a half, Union Carbide has been monitoring American opinion on a wide array of economic issues. In three separate surveys conducted between September 1979 and January 1981, Americans expressed strong concern about the American economy and an awareness that America has to do a better job of competing in the world.

The public's concern over the vitality of the American economy is supported by the facts. The United States ranked last among the major industrial nations in productivity growth in manufacturing in the last decade. Our plant and equipment is older than those of both West Germany and Japan. And we trail most industrial nations in the share of GNP we are investing in new plant and equipment.

While America's share of world export markets has declined, West Germany has become the world's leading exporter of manufactured goods, and Japan has passed the U.S. in the amount of such goods that are exported to less developed countries.

1979: ECONOMIC GROWTH IS NECESSARY.

The first indication of a new consensus emerged from our September 1979 survey *(The Vital Consensus)*. In that survey we explored the "growth vs. no-growth" issue and found over 80% said that it would be best for the country if the economy grew significantly in the next five years. Almost two-thirds said that the federal government should do more than it is doing to help business grow and create new jobs.



Source: *Fortune*, March 9, 1981

1980: BUSINESS AND GOVERNMENT MUST COOPERATE AS ALLIES...

In a June 1980 survey *(Adversaries or Allies)*, we found that Americans wanted economic growth and also wanted government and business to work more closely together to shape economic policies—as allies instead of adversaries.

Americans, by a margin of 8 to 1, also said that making American business and industry more competitive with foreign business was either important or very important.

1981: ...TO MAKE AMERICA MORE COMPETITIVE IN THE WORLD.

In the third poll *(The Emerging Consensus)*, conducted in January 1981, we found that over 80% think that trade is a two-way street and that 73% favor new U.S. government programs that would encourage American business to export more products. This survey also found that strong majorities want American businesses treated fairly in international trade and believe that the U.S. should shape its economic policies so that our problems at home and abroad are both taken into account.

America can no longer afford to be the only major industrial country without an integrated economic strategy that takes into account both foreign and domestic realities. The American people understand and endorse the need for such an integrated strategy, as do many of our nation's leaders.

In his economic address before Congress on February 18, President Reagan said, "It is time to create new jobs, to build and rebuild industry, and give the American people room to do what they do best"—in order, as the President later put it, "... to make America competitive once again in world markets."

Union Carbide supports the Administration's new economic program as the essential first step in making America more competitive. And our new survey on public attitudes toward international trade shows that by a strong majority Americans agree that the time has come for the U.S. to shape its economic policies so that they take our problems both at home and abroad into account.

For a free copy of the latest survey report—*The Emerging Consensus: Public Attitudes on America's Ability to Compete in the World*—or the two previous surveys, please return the coupon.

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Letters

Stranger than Fiction

Don B. Kates Jr. concludes that we do not have the court or prison system to enforce the handgun laws now on the books ["Gun Control: Can It Work?" May 15]—John Hinckley, for example, should have been in jail for carrying a handgun aboard an airplane last year. Another, less reported fact is that the police, after the attempt on the President's life, found the lyrics of the Beatles' song "Happiness Is a Warm Gun" in Hinckley's pocket.

Thaddeus Smith
Chicago, Ill.

Persona

Your "Winston's" comments on the *Washington Post*/Janet Cooke imbroglio ["The Week," May 15] give us a clue to the mysterious identity of Deep Throat: Do you suppose it was "Jimmy"?

W. C. da Costa, MD
La Crosse, Wisc.

Labor Politics

Last November, for the first time in his life, Arnold Beichman voted for a Republican presidential candidate. With the ardor of the new convert, he unleashes in your pages [April 3] a nasty, condescending, and ill-informed attack on the AFL-CIO's leadership—"like sheep, they marched into the Carter pen."

A brilliant polemicizer against the New Left, Beichman should know better than to adopt its tactics. The Sixties New Left saw the labor movement as moribund, its rank-and-file alienated from its leadership, its relative numbers and political clout declining—all because the "labor lieutenants of capitalism" wouldn't buy the Revolution. Beichman sees the AFL-CIO with "no political assets and certainly no political following it can count on among its own members," "virtually no union representation among [the] professional class," and a drop in the percentage of unionized workers—all because the leadership is out of touch with the Reaganite revolution in the ranks.

The ups and downs of union membership have to do more with the complex demographic and technological changes in our economy than with the AFL-CIO's failure to follow Beichman's political prescriptions—or Tom Hayden's. As for the relationship between the leadership and the ranks, Beichman sounds like a Reaganite reincarnation of Trotsky.

The sad thing about Beichman's article is that it misses the opportunity to discuss, in a conservative journal, a real political problem facing the labor movement: the fact that in recent years the political parties have forced us to choose *between* pro-labor and pro-defense candidates, *between* social welfare and an anti-Communist foreign policy. This alignment, good news to Communists and fellow-travelers, robs not only most workers but most Americans of their preferred electoral choice.

For Beichman this difficult problem has a single answer: labor should forget its domestic program and vote its anti-Communist foreign policy. We should have taken this step on behalf of a presidential candidate who opposed the draft, the grain embargo, and the Olympic boycott!

A strong foreign policy requires a strong domestic economy and a base of popular support, not the social divisions which Reagan's program is likely to engender.

Albert Shanker
President, American Federation of Teachers
Washington, D.C.

While we disagree with Mr. Beichman's analysis, we would ordinarily leave a response to the labor movement itself, which is naturally far better qualified to defend itself than we. In this instance, however, we feel compelled to reply because Mr. Beichman referred to a prominent Social Democrat, Carl Gershman, who currently serves our government in the foreign-policy arena, in a way that distorts the position of Social Democrats, U.S.A.

The Carter Administration, despite Beichman's assertion that it was "bad for organized labor," was a friend of labor. It supported labor on such crucial issues as the minimum wage and labor-law reform, and it expanded manpower programs addressed to the problem of the hardcore unemployed. Was the labor movement thereby "ignoring its own self-defined legitimate interests" by opposing Reagan, who, since his election, has introduced both legislation that would cut programs labor has fought for over the past century, and budget cuts so drastic that they create massive holes in the safety net protecting working men and women, the poor and minorities? Did the AFL-CIO, by endorsing Carter, precipitate a "crisis of leadership" for Lane Kirkland that will further weaken the influence of the labor movement?

In fact, the opposite is the case. The recent AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting was never so well covered by the media. With the Democratic Party still in disarray, the AFL-CIO offered the only clear, firm, organized voice raised against Reagan's domestic policies. And the AFL-CIO took significant steps at this meeting

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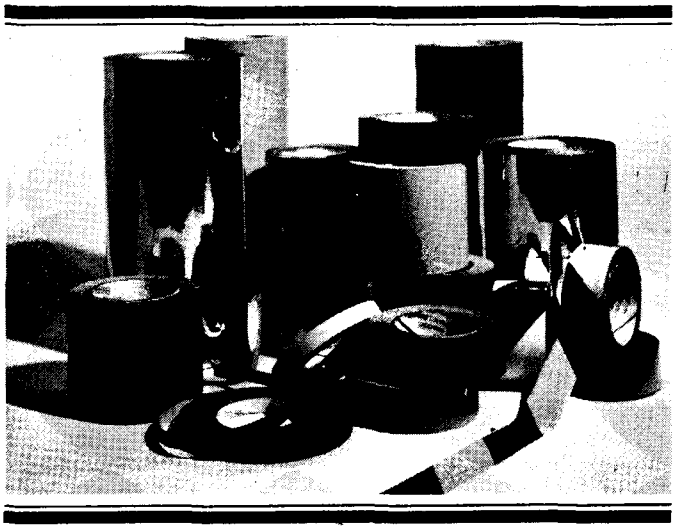

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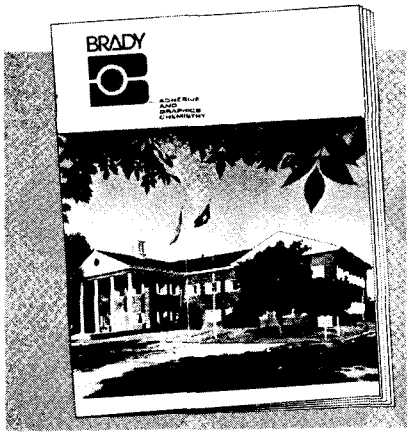

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to solidify and increase its political influence. One of these steps, the decision to enter the candidate-selection process at an earlier stage, is a much wiser course than the one offered by Beichman. When faced with the "fait accompli" of two major candidates, neither of whom is ideal, labor could, as Beichman suggests, return to the 1924 AFL position of non-endorsement. A far more productive solution, currently being developed by the AFL-CIO, is to make labor's voice heard early enough, in the primary process, to influence the issues and the candidates.

Rita Freedman, Executive Director
Bayard Rustin, National Chairman
Social Democrats, U.S.A.
New York, N.Y.

Mr. Beichman Replies

It is sad that in what should be a responsible debate, a labor leader of great distinction like Albert Shanker should refer to me as "a Reaganite reincarnation of Trotsky." I wonder what name is reserved for an effective anti-Communist, as Shanker has been for years, who throws his support to Senator Edward Kennedy for President of the United States? Ted Kennedy, for heaven's sake!

Al Shanker says that political parties have forced labor leaders "to choose between pro-labor and pro-defense candidates, between social welfare and an anti-Communist foreign policy." My answer to that is something President Kennedy once said: Errors in domestic policy are survivable whereas errors in foreign policy can be fatal. In a world of Soviet superpowerdom, I think foreign policy is more important than domestic policy. I say this in full critical awareness of the Reagan position on AWACS and the lifting of the grain embargo.

It is even sadder that neither Shanker nor Rustin, a man whom I hold in high esteem, discusses the defeat of nine so-called liberal, pro-labor senators. Trade unionists among other voters defeated Senators Anderson, Bayh, Church, Clark, Culver, Haskell, Hathaway, McGovern, and Nelson. Trade unionists among other voters elected Senator D'Amato in New York. How come? There's no point in saying that the defeated nine were targets of right-wing forces, since that alibi only serves to underscore the serious weakening of the trade-union leadership's influence among its rank-and-file. It is rather simplistic to dismiss as Shanker does "the ups and downs of union membership" as the result of "complex demographic and technological changes in our economy." Changes complex, demographic, or technological are neutral. Why have they injured American trade-unionism? That is the question, which Shanker introduces but fails to address.

What disturbs me most is the new line

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that the trade unions ought to enter the primaries to ensure nomination of the right people. That is Lane Kirkland's proposal, seconded by Rustin. This way lies disaster: splitting the trade unions and making it convenient for Communists and the radical Left to penetrate them with far greater hope of success than at any time in recent decades.

Kirkland, Rustin, Shanker forget how easy it was for the Communists in New York State, supported by Sidney Hillman, to take over the American Labor Party in primary fights despite the leadership of such shrewd anti-Communists like David Dubinsky, Alex Rose, and Luigi Antonini. Primaries, with their normally narrow voter base, are a pushover for any determined minority, as we saw during the McGovern coup d'etat of 1972. In my opinion, the trade unions will pay dearly if they enter primaries because there is no monolithic, party-line structure in American labor.

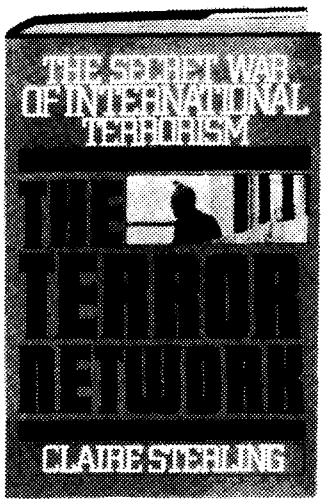
Correction

In your issue of March 20 ["The Week"], you mentioned two syndicated columns of mine but mistook the dates on which they appeared by a full year. They appeared in September and October of 1979, not 1980.

Michael Novak
Washington, D.C.

"An act of considerable courage.... *The Terror Network* speaks plainly, directly, and urgently."

—Alfred Coppel, *San Francisco Chronicle*



This vitally important book by "one of Europe's best-known experts on terrorism"* documents, decisively, Russia's role as the source of weapons and training for international terrorism. It traces the bloody thread that links today's seemingly random murders, kidnappings, hijackings, and bombings.

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*Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

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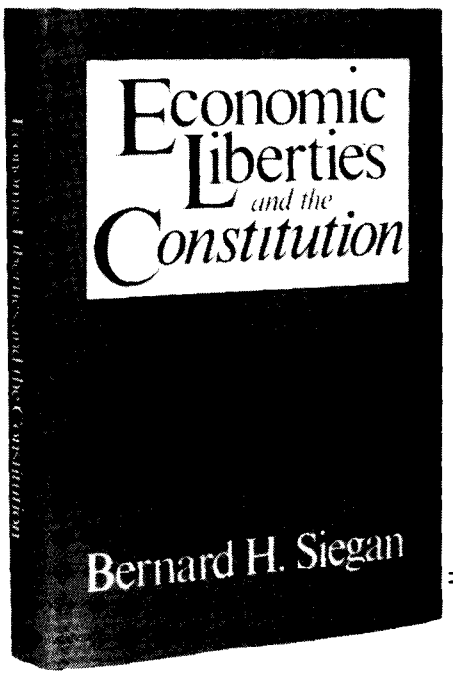

ECONOMIC LIBERTIES and the CONSTITUTION

Bernard H. Siegan

In this challenging book, Siegan declares that, if the Supreme Court were doing its job as the Framers of the Constitution and the Fourteenth Amendment intended, the nation would be much less burdened with excessive economic regulation. He points out that, while the Court is zealous in terminating state laws that threaten free expression, sexual privacy, or religious observance, since the 1940s it has done nothing about laws that limit the right of individuals or private corporations to engage in legitimate economic activities.

The result has been to give governments at all levels much greater power over the economic system and to harm society by inhibiting production, raising prices, curtailing competition and creating unemployment. Those most often harmed, concludes Siegan, are those who were supposed to be protected–people on the lowest rung of the economic ladder. 383 pages. $19.50

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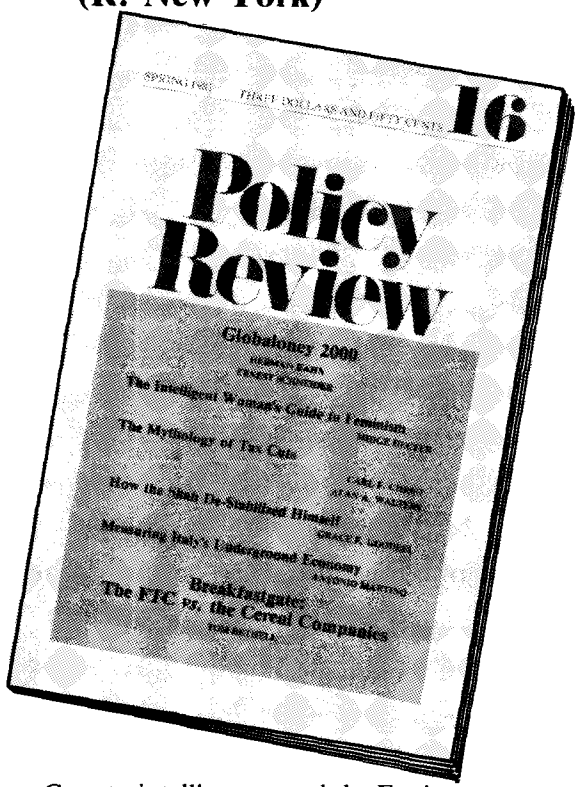
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FOR THE RECORD

■ With budget victories in House and Senate, Administration is moving on to tax cut. White House Chief of Staff **James A. Baker III** says **Reagan** is standing firm on three-year, 30 per cent cut. Rep. **James Jones** (D., Okla.), chairman of House Budget Committee, says, "If the President puts the same effort into [Reagan-Kemp-Roth] as he did on budget, he'll get it." Other Demcrats don't agree. "The President says he's in cement on a three-year tax cut, and I'm in cement on one year," says House Ways and Means Chairman **Dan Rostenkowski**. Big question is which way 63 Democrats who voted for Reagan budget cuts will go. Survey commissioned by House Speaker **Tip O'Neill** revealed that city of 63 Democratic "defectors" will not bolt this time. But GOP views survey merely as negotiating ploy. . . . Senate Finance Committee Chairman **Robert Dole** says five or six of 11 GOP members of committee have reservations about tax cut and only one or two Democrats are for it. . . . As expected, Reagan budget easily won in Senate, with only two Republicans opposing it: **Gordon Humphrey** (N.H.) and **Lowell Weicker** (Conn.). Weicker is also opposed to Reagan tax-cut proposal, believing it will "prove to be destructive of our economy." Weicker is giving **Orrin Hatch** fits on Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee. In one day four health bills sponsored by Committee Chairman Hatch went down to defeat, thanks in large part to Weicker, who voted with minority on every vote. Before voting began, Hatch commented: "If the majority loses on this committee it will be a normal thing, because we have never won.". . . Mainstream GOP could soon get its revenge. **Prescott Bush**, brother of Veep, will probably enter next year's GOP senatorial primary against Weicker. Prescott Bush Sr. was also a senator from Connecticut.

Shailo, *London Daily Telegraph* Rothco

"All I ask is the same treatment as Poland!"

■ With Senator **Paul Sarbanes** (D., Md.) already on its hit list for 1982, National Conservative Political Action Committee may soon be going after the big one. If NCPAC gets favorable response from recent survey, it will target "crown prince of liberalism"—**Ted Kennedy**. NCPAC Chairman **Terry Dolan** quotes advocates of move against Kennedy as saying the defeat of Kennedy "would virtually destroy the liberal movement in America.". . . Reagan budget victory has brought Democratic internal problems into the open. *Washington Post* quotes unnamed Democratic leader: "The liberals have been asking for this. . . . The **Democratic Party** has given greater weight to the liberal wing than its members deserved and groups that held the party's conscience—women and minorities—have vetoed rational means to adjust our policy. Well, that veto is over." . . . Speaker Tip O'Neill could be casualty of Democratic infighting; he is accused of appeasing conservative Democrats and getting nothing in return. "It will be a continuing issue of concern why members who bolt the party still are considered members of the party in good standing," says liberal Rep. **James Blanchard** (D., Mich.). But even when Democrats are together, says Rep. **Bill Hefner** (D., N.C.), "we're still fragmented. We're a party made up of liberals, moderates, and conservatives. We don't have the luxury of the Republicans, who know exactly what their constituency is and who won't let just anybody into their party."

■ Conference at New York's Rockefeller University dedicated to exiled Soviet dissident **Andrei Sakharov** did get message of support from Administration—against objection of **State Department**. Credit National Security Advisor **Richard Allen** with the save. . . . For first time since Vietnam War ended, U.S. has refused to grant license for shipment of **aid to Vietnam**. Refugee officials in Asia are warning about new wave of Vietnamese boat people. So far this year 2,158 Vietnamese boat people have arrived in Indonesia, up from 643 in same period last year. . . . Bad news for **OPEC**. Mexico, fourth largest oil producer in world, is planning to increase production. By August, Mexico plans to pump 2.93 million barrels per day—close to 200,000 above its official production limit. . . . Latest *Information Digest* says State Department white paper on Communist involvement in **El Salvador** has been "disproved" in all the predictable places: Mary McGrory column, *The Nation*, *In These Times*. But little attention, says *ID*, has been given quote from **Hans-Jurgen Wischnewski**, West German socialist who interviewed Castro in April. Castro, according to Wischnewski, "did not deny that shipments of weapons took place and in that sense confirmed" State Department report.

■ Newest drink making rounds in Washington: "Haig and Haig in hot water."

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THE WEEK

■ (From *Time* magazine). "The problem of how to deal with the disarming Reagan puzzled and gnawed at him. [*Oh Tip O'Neill, the pipes, the pipes are calling*] 'I've never been up against a Republican like him,' he told friends. [*From glen to glen, and down the mountain side*] It was not that O'Neill had developed any confidence in Reagan as President—or as a thinker. To the contrary, the Speaker returned from White House meetings and told aides that he was astonished at the empty conversations. [*The New Deal's gone, and all the roses fall-ing*] When O'Neill raised certain issues, he reported, the President would invariably deflect them to an aide and resume his easy storytelling. Never, declared the disbelieving Speaker, had he seen a President work in such a detached way. [*'Tis you, 'tis you, must go and I must bide*]"

■ In the battle for his economic program, President Reagan won the first round, with both House and Senate budget committees shaping the first budget resolution for fiscal year 1982 to fit his tax- and spending-cut proposals. But the fight is far from over. The appropriations committees will have to be kept within the budget guidelines. The tax reductions will have to be shepherded through the House and Senate. And should the economy sour because of high interest rates, concern over the deficit will generate pressures to delay and scale down the tax cut. Should the President's popularity slip or his negotiators compromise too quickly with his congressional opponents, the Congress could take away in the fall in the second budget resolution for fiscal year 1982 what it gave in the spring in the first.

■ From what we hear, NCPAC—the National Conservative Political Action Committee—runs awfully dirty campaigns. We have the word of the Democratic National Chairman, Charles Manatt, for that: he wants a task force to investigate "these independent groups that answer to nobody and have a great evil influence on our society." (For a minute we thought he was talking about the mass media.) The Republican National Chairman, Richard Richards, also wants to curb the independent groups—creatures of the *last* round of election reforms. Oddly enough, none of the denouncers has produced a single sentence to support the charges of scurrility. The suspicion here is that the real sin of NCPAC has been—answering to nobody. Both parties are running scared, precisely because the most potent new force in American politics *is* independent of both parties, and its Republican beneficiaries are as anxious as its Democratic victims.

■ The Reagan Administration has come up with a program that is downright unreaganesque. It proposes to pay pupils to submit to racial busing—the payment to consist in a semester's free tuition at a state college for every year of riding the bus across town. Granted, voluntarism is a big improvement over coercion: the main objection most parents have to race busing has been the simple loss of control over their children's lives. But it's no improvement at all to prop up a failed policy with increased redistribution. As usual, the one non-voluntary part of this scheme will be the taxpayer's contribution.

■ True to the vision of the Framers, the New York State Supreme Court has ruled that kiddie porn is legal unless obscene. Huh? Well, put it this way: the court struck down a state law banning outright the depiction of children in "actual or simulated sexual intercourse, deviate sexual intercourse, sexual bestiality," etc. That law, said the court, would prohibit things which are "traditionally" protected "under the First Amendment." From now on, a prosecutor will have to prove case by case that pictures of children being used in lewd acts are obscene according to local community standards: there can be no presumption that a magazine or movie is illicit merely because it has recorded an illicit act. The poor prosecutors. The poor *kids*: little did they suspect that James Madison meant to turn them over to Al Goldstein.

■ *Commencement Mania*: Sister Helen James John, head of Trinity College's philosophy department, protested an invitation to UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick to be commencement speaker because "you have become internationally prominent as both a shaper and an eloquent advocate of a position directly opposed to a global concern for social justice and

At Sea with Senator Percy

The Foreign Relations Committee
  Is missing at sea and some say
They're so overdue we should murmur, "Boo-hoo,"
  Then mourn in a sailorly way.
I saw the barometer falling
  As Senator Percy set sail.
When told to turn back he replied, "I can't tack,"
  And everyone knows he can't bail.

W. H. von Dreele

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

So intense was the spotlight on the drama of the Reagan budget during the past few weeks that U.S. foreign policy and its protagonists were eclipsed. With the House vote taken, foreign policy is again on stage and with it the fortunes of Alexander Meigs Haig which, happily, have taken a turn for the better due in no small part to an unabject, mental Canossa on Haig's part.

To Washington's inner circles it had always been more or less understood that Haig functions as Number Two, not Number One. When someone told him, or Haig otherwise discovered, that he was still Number Two (Reagan being Number One) this seemed to be all that Al needed. It was like the snap of a hypnotist's fingers. The trance lifted. Haig went to the NATO foreign ministers' meeting in Rome, didn't get out ahead of the President on foreign policy, couldn't say often enough, "It is the President's view that . . ." or "President Reagan believes that . . ."

On seeing this disposition, the President acted like the Father with the Prodigal Son, only instead of the fatted calf we had a "photo opportunity" (vile phrase) in which Reagan re-anointed Haig with benedictions like "Returning in Triumph." The liturgy of reinstatement over, we again have in Al Haig a Secretary of State rather than a President for Foreign Policy. Now all the ink is flowing in Haig's direction.

Will the Haig metanoia last? The betting is yes, which some cynics in this city say is the triumph of hope over odds, especially when one looks at the minefield Haig will have to negotiate in a couple of weeks when he visits the People's Republic of China.

All of Haig's strategic instincts tell him that he should be as agreeable as absolutely possible with the PRC. Deng Xiaoping shares the Haig view that the Soviets' challenge to the West and to China will continue. Haig shares Deng's view that, in essentials, the Soviets are pincering that region of the world, with Soviet troops in Siberia and Mongolia (under Khrushchev the Soviets had a dozen divisions along the Sino-Soviet border, under Brezhnev, 54—about one million men) plus the Afghanistan invasion, and Soviet aid to Vietnam on the PRC's southern flank. The object of this, thinks Deng, is to cut oil supplies to Western Europe and Japan through the Straits of Hormuz and Malacca, leaving Western Europe "Finlandized," i.e., technically neutral but actually atilt toward Moscow, after which Moscow would target China directly.

Haig also knows that the PRC would be an invaluable wild deuce in the West's countering of the Soviet invasion of Poland when it comes. Also, doubtless, Haig wants the Chinese to funnel aid to the Afghans through that sliver of PRC land which abuts Afghanistan and creates a tiny border crossing between the two states.

In sum, Haig's instincts point him in the direction of strengthening ties with Peking. In addition, the China hands at State are urging Haig to sell advanced weaponry (TOW and Red Eye ground-to-air missiles) to the PRC, extend them foreign military sales credits, train the People's Liberation Army, and (are you seated?) halt the sale of fighter aircraft to Taiwan.

Dictated by Peking, the last mentioned requirement will be the bone that catches in Haig's (and Reagan's) throat. The President happens to favor the old-fashioned view that one should stick with one's proven friends. He also thinks that maintaining our Taiwan friendship is the best footing for our relationship with the PRC. "I think the Red Chinese would have more confidence in us." Reagan has said, "if they know that when we make an agreement, we keep it, and that we wouldn't sacrifice one ally simply to gain another."

So Haig will have to work out a formula for tightening the Sino-U.S. alliance without estranging the Taiwanese. It will probably take the form of giving some aid to both, and persuading Peking to swallow its requirement of no planes to Taiwan. If Haig fails to keep the Taiwan part in equilibrium, he will mightily vex the conservatives on the Hill and in the White House, and cause a rupture worse than anything that has hitherto served to isolate him. We'll put our money on Haig. He's Number Two again, so everything will be okay.

■ In his May 9 speech at Syracuse University, and in a recent magazine interview, Haig stressed that 1) the Soviet Union is in a state of historical decline, and 2) this failing of Communism makes the Soviets even more dangerous, because they will tend to use foreign aggressions as a diversionary tactic. Watch for both to become motif concepts by high-level Reaganites in the days ahead. —CATO

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human rights." Mrs. Kirkpatrick, who once taught at Trinity, a small Catholic college in Washington, withdrew. Brother Gregory Nugent, assistant to the president of Catholic University in Washington was stung that students might think Secretary of State Haig could be in the running for commencement speaker there. "We got a letter protesting an invitation that had not even been extended and will not be extended." The students will be launched into the world by Frank Reynolds. In the Washington area, only at predominantly black Howard University did President James Cheeks stand firm. He refused to accept a student petition protesting the invitation to Vice President George Bush to be commencement speaker. "Mr. Bush," he said, "is a friend of the black people."

■ John Anderson is starting a new political party. And if his following had some ham, he'd have a ham sandwich, if he had some bread; which is what he's now asking for. At *NR* we're short of bread ourselves, but we're full of suggestions. Why not call the fledgling, the "Teachers' Pet Party"?

■ Three West European elections this month have been hard on the Ins: Giscard lost the presidency, Margaret Thatcher lost her municipal councils, and Helmut Schmidt in West Berlin may have lost an important coalition partner. For the first time since 1954, West Berliners have handed a decisive victory to the Christian Democrats over Schmidt's Social Democrats (SPD), giving the Christian Democrats 47.3 per

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The Last Encampment

With pimpled face and snaggled tooth,
The Amazon and bearded youth
Assembled at the Monument
To wonder where the Sixties went.
Amidst the banners and the bunk,
Few seemed to sense the ship had sunk
As pacifists despoiled the lawn
And Bella boomed, "Hold back the dawn!"

W. H. VON DREELE

cent of the vote to the SPD's 38.4, with the Free Democrats (FDP) racking up a small, but very important, 5.5 per cent. The FDP is Schmidt's coalition partner in Bonn, giving him the votes he needs for a majority in the Bundestag. But the West Berlin FDP is now engaged in serious coalition talks with the Christian Democrats. Such an alliance would not only weaken Schmidt's ruling coalition, it would strengthen his rambunctious left wing, which has never felt easy in harness with the centrist to right-of-center Free Democrats. This development on top of the election of a Socialist president of France spells trouble for U.S. attempts to revitalize NATO.

■ How badly was Margaret Thatcher's government hurt in the recent municipal elections that saw Labor take over all seven of Britain's major metropolitan areas and make a sweeping comeback in the midlands and industrial north? It was hardly a vote of confidence, but it wasn't a landslide either. Labor did worse in London than had been predicted, and much of the south that had switched to the Conservatives in the last municipal elections in 1977 held firm. The May 7 vote served notice on Mrs. Thatcher—now exactly two years into her five-year term—that the economic turnabout she has been promising Britain must get on track fast if (as she promises to do) she is "to fight the next election against the background of more stable prices than we have known for a generation, of industrial peace and rising output, of shrinking dole queues and more moderate taxation."

■ When the sheiks in OPEC assemble in Geneva next week they would do well to take with them a copy of the latest Petroleum Industry Research Associates report on the present oil glut and its meaning for OPEC. In the eight years since the oil embargo of 1973, which triggered skyrocketing petroleum prices, OPEC's share in the world's oil production has declined from 53.3 per cent to 43.6 per cent; the Middle Eastern share of world production has gone from 41.1 per cent to 33.6 per cent. Back in 1973 the non-OPEC world was producing 27 million barrels of oil a day, in 1980 that had risen to 35 million barrels a day. Under pressure from ever-increasing petroleum prices, the non-OPEC nations have undertaken so effectively to restructure industry, develop alternate energy sources, and adopt conservation measures that estimates now are that by 1988 world petroleum consumption will still be somewhat below the 1979 world peak. The market place is doing more to tame OPEC than are all the world's the statesmen.

■ John Colvin was consul general at the British Mission in Hanoi during 1966 and 1967. In a forthcoming book, excerpted in *The Washington Quarterly* of the Center for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown, he gives a first-hand account of the effects of the American bombing. "By September [of 1967] the country and its people were close to a collapse which no amount of excited exhortation could correct. . . . The bombing was causing losses in men and material and serious delays; conditions were medieval, industry suffered from dispersal, food was tight and agriculture undermined, the distribution system was imperfect, electricity and power were variable, damage to lines of communication was enormous, and a high proportion of the manpower was devoted to repair. . . . In late September [North Vietnam] was no longer capable of maintaining itself as an economic unit or of mounting aggressive war against its neighbor." Then America gave peace a chance. "The strength of the American bombing campaign had rested not only on its weight but on its consistency, hour after hour, day after day. . . . But although some spasmodic bombing in the northeast quadrant took place after September, it was on a greatly reduced scale and frequently interrupted by long periods of inactivity during 'peace initiatives.'" Colvin's conclusion: "Victory—by September 1967 in American hands—was not so much thrown away as shunned."

■ The cause of reasonable public policy in America has a lot of heroes, some of them unknown to any national audience. One of them is 36-year-old Ken Khachigian. He worked as a very young man in the 1972 Nixon campaign and then joined the Nixon speechwriters in the White House. He endured Watergate, and then quietly and loyally accompanied the former President to San Clemente, where he worked on the memoirs and other projects. He began his own consulting firm in San Clemente. When the Reagan campaign called him, he answered; and he signed on as chief White house speech writer, a post which, by an early pre-arrangement, he is now leaving. Toward Ken Khachigian all who know him feel a kind of ultimate esteem—which, in this instance, goes beyond friendship and/or love. He is the son of an immigrant

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farmer. Integrity, patriotism, and religion run all through him. Power jockeying is Washington's favorite sport. Ken finds it tiresome, is happy to stand apart and render his best work—which during the first hundred days of the Reagan Administration was superlative. He now leaves the White House and returns to his beloved California. But he will be answering the phone. —J. HART

■ Guess who charges that blacks unhappy about the conservative trends of the times are just "disgruntled Democrats" and "near-sighted"? Eldridge Cleaver. "We need some good people to get the black people off the dole," he says. "We need people to get us into the economy with jobs, to update our skills."

■ Postmaster Booo,ooo,ooolger, meanwhile, is still irked that he didn't get the 20¢-per-ounce rate he asked for, and says that if he doesn't get it soon, he's going to have to ask for 35¢ an ounce, to pay the sharply increased costs of mail storage.

■ Our Patriot of the Week is Mrs. Angela Long of Callaway, Florida, who has chosen thirty days of jail rather than pay a fine for cussing a politician. Mrs. Long was convicted after the stupid bastard said he "had not slept as well" after the incident.

Assassination and Counter-Revolution

As we go to press, we understand that Pope John Paul II will live. We do not know the motives for the attempt upon his life. Striking parallels exist, however, between this event and the attempt upon President Reagan's life in Washington.

Both men stand at the center of powerful fields of force. Both have set about reversing the course of recent history. The Pope has recently been a strong spokesman in the debate about abortion going on in Italy, but he is also a threat to the Soviet empire in East Europe. He has moved against leftist tendencies within the Church. He has enraged some feminists. He has taken on Hans Küng, and all that this means. A potential assassin does not have to be specifically religious or political to know that the Pope is important, that he is playing a major historical role.

The same is true of Reagan. In his murky mind, John Hinckley was in love with an actress. He was not, so far as we know, opposed to Reagan's cuts in funding for the arts or food stamps. But he knew, however obscurely, that Reagan is important. Hinckley responded to the field of force around Reagan, and he may have picked up some emotional currents from the people whom, historically, Reagan is defeating.

It is a minor but significant datum that a student journalist at the University of Pennsylvania wrote that he wished that Reagan had died. The student had been swept up in the emotional currents surrounding counter-revolution.

To play a major historical role can be dangerous to your survival. Both Reagan and the Pope survived. In this fact there may emerge a powerful metaphor, as both men work with the grain of history.

At Stake with Mitterrand

François Mitterrand's election as president of the French Republic for the next seven years will not automatically throw the Western alliance into disarray. The socialist leader is pledged to maintain membership in the NATO alliance; to continue France's nuclear arm; to support the Common Market. He has no great stated love for further rapprochement with Moscow either. Indeed, he has been tougher on many Soviet policies than his predecessor in the Elysée Palace; so much at least is what the record says.

But there are aspects to a Mitterrand presidency which will cause suspicion or fear among the friends and allies of France. The first is the prospect of vastly increased influence of the French Communist Party. Mitterrand has been in a position of official hostility toward the Communists since the two parties broke up their common program at the time of the legislative elections of 1978. In the campaign just ended, Georges Marchais, the Communist candidate, reserved his particular vitriol for his left-wing competitor.

Nevertheless, Communist votes, even though seriously diminished, put Mitterrand where he is now, and this important segment of French voters can be expected to agitate noisily, and in some cases successfully, for its objectives at every turn of policy. Mitterrand takes up his duties with this albatross firmly fastened about his neck. His promise that if elected he would never name a Communist to any portfolio in his cabinet cannot be taken as binding for the future.

The other disturbing aspect of Mitterrand's decisive victory is the prospect of a return to partisan politics of a kind that crippled the Fourth Republic, and the Third before it. Mitterrand has said he will dissolve the National Assembly immediately, instead of waiting for the normal electoral term of 1983. This means of course dismissing the Center-Right majority and hoping for a new chamber to be returned in his favor, a possibility foreshadowed by recent local elections in which the Left did well.

Unfortunately, the figure of Mitterrand himself is

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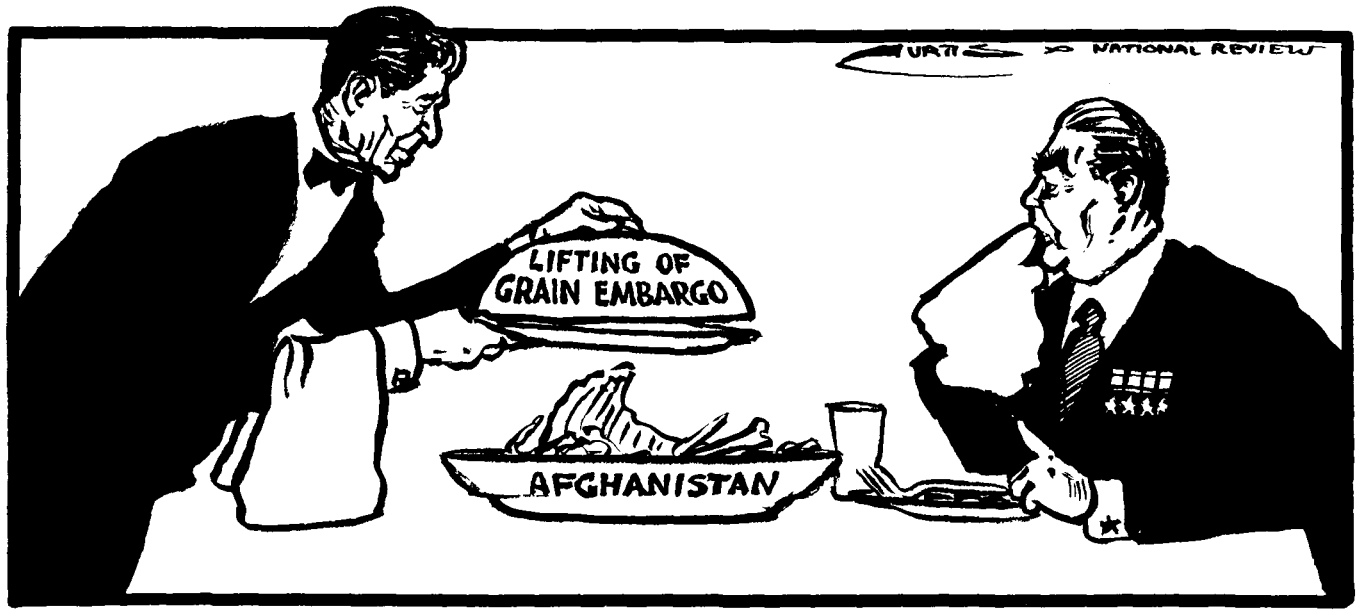

Dessert

not that of an authoritative national leader. Giscard was a man of the Fifth Republic, with its strong executive structure. But Mitterrand has his roots, and made his career, in the labyrinths and intrigues of the Fourth, the "Republic of Parties." Like so many politicians of that era, he has a past of compromises and dubious episodes. As a politician he has been wily and tough. The question is whether these qualities can, in his somewhat devious personality, be successfully translated to the austerity and grandeur of his present office.

On the practical side, Mitterrand's program commits him to some radical changes in French economic and social life. He has said he would nationalize the banks, the insurance companies, and nine of the biggest French industrial enterprises. He plans to revise the tax system at the expense of the middle class and to institute other changes of a classic socialist kind.

French conservatives will reflect that France has had socialist governments before, and that anyway much of the French banking system and industry are partners of the government already. Still, as president of the Fifth Republic, Mitterrand's power will be very great, especially in the constitution's grey areas of national interest and national emergency. It is certainly a time for friends of France to cross their fingers.

Congress Watch

The case of Senator Robert Stafford. Don't relax. The Reagan Administration has won an overwhelming victory on the House budget vote, but the hard fights are still to come, and they are not going to be settled on prime-time television with all the people watching. The Reagan victory can be nibbled away piecemeal—in obscure subcommittees, through unpublicized pressure on key votes, through shadowy manipulations in the corridors of congressional power. From now on, it's the details that count, and *NR* will shine the spotlight of continuous publicity on those who would try to defeat in the dark what could not be defeated in a floor vote. This week's case involves the commitment of Senator Robert Stafford of Vermont to the Reagan approach.

The issue is the federal program known as VISTA. The acronym stands for Volunteers in Service to America. The President wants this program completely phased out by the end of FY 1983. It is currently funded at $30 million per year.

VISTA is a sort of domestic counterpart of the Peace Corps. It sponsors some fifty thousand volunteers who fan out across the nation and, well, do their thing. A few samples:

The Dane County Welfare Rights Alliance in Madison, Wisconsin last year had five VISTA people. They were to engage in "developing advocacy programs; equipping poor people with the knowledge and proper perspective necessary to organize and bring about social changes; acting as change agents at the local level . . ."

The Toledo Metropolitan Mission in Toledo, Ohio had ten VISTAS. They were "Organizing around school desegregation, senior citizens' welfare rights, and organizing a city-wide coalition of people and organizations to bring about social change."

The Susquehanna Legal Services organization in Philadelphia had three VISTA people. They were to "Organize, train and develop self-sustaining community welfare advocacy groups in seven counties . . ."

In New Orleans, the VISTA activity involved "Statewide community organizing of low-income people in

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neighborhood affiliates. Involved issues: state tax reform, health care, energy issues, property-tax reform and tenants' rights."

These are sample cases. They could be multiplied by the thousand. VISTA is a flat-out political pressure group which, under the leadership of Carter's appointee Sam Brown—of war protest fame—has used the taxpayers' $30 million per year to carry out activities of a clearly partisan nature and of a powerful leftist political tendency.

Reagan wants to phase the whole thing out, a thoroughly justifiable goal. Now comes the detail.

The House Appropriations Subcommittee has voted to cut $1.7 million from the VISTA appropriation for FY 1981. The Senate Appropriations Subcommittee voted to increase the cut to $3.2 million. But, on May 7, the House Subcommittee on Select Education voted to put a floor of $30 million under VISTA for FY 1982, and to increase that floor by 15 per cent for 1983, and another 15 per cent for 1984, ever widening VISTAS. The House action next comes before the Committee on Education and Labor. At the same time, of course, the action goes forward in the Senate, where the next key vote will be cast by the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee. The good news there is that Senator Orrin Hatch is chairman. The bad news is that Senator Lowell Weicker is going to vote for VISTA. Which puts the balance of power on the committee in the hands of moderate Republican Senator Robert Stafford of Vermont. Stafford's lonely and unpublicized vote will determine whether this "Republican dominated" committee will go along with Reagan on VISTA.

Mr. Stafford should hear from the American people.

A Terrible Bombast Is Born

Northern Ireland is one of those questions on which it is easy for Americans to choose sides, and almost impossible to choose well. A couple of points deserve to be considered.

1. Robert Sands, MP, for whom a hundred weepy parades have been held, was assuredly a brave and dedicated man. He also knew what he was doing. He was a member of a revolutionary terrorist organization, outlawed in both Great Britain *and the Irish Republic*. He took up residence in the Maze prison after being convicted for possession of illegal weapons —weapons which, if he had remained at large, he would quite likely have used to shoot a policeman, or a soldier, or a Protestant terrorist, or a Protestant terrorist's child, or someone mistaken for a Protestant terrorist, or just a random bystander. He fasted to wrest from his jailers the privileges of a political prisoner—to extort, that is, a tacit recognition of the legitimacy of his organization. The British responded as would any government not willing to throw in the towel. Sands persisted, and died.

2. Whereupon the usual tune rose up from Governor Carey, Senators Moynihan and Kennedy, Representative O'Neill, and all the rest of MacNamara's Band. *Of course* they are against terrorism; but the British should be more humane, more flexible, more willing to negotiate, etc., etc. It is undeniable that the Ulstermen—like the British—have been guilty of great cruelty and indefensible discrimination against the Catholics. *But this is not the point*: Conor Cruise O'Brien said it all two years ago:

"To understand the damage already being done by [American] pressure, it is necessary to face one neglected basic fact: The great majority of the population of Northern Ireland want to remain in the United Kingdom. This majority is made up mainly, though not exclusively, of Ulster Protestants. Ulster Protestant rejection of the united Ireland is not something superficial or ephemeral: It is long-established, deep-seated, and passionate. Britain cannot oblige Ulster Protestants to want to leave the United Kingdom any more than it could oblige the population of the Republic to re-enter.

"In theory, of course, the Irish-American statesmen are offering an *alternative* to terrorism: a peaceful path toward a united Ireland. In practice, however, since the majority in Northern Ireland will neither be forced nor pressured down that path, what happens is that the political pressure and the violence converge, alternate, and fan one another. That goes on, as long as the pressure does, and as long as Britain resists. If, however, a British government, in weariness and disgust, should begin to yield, to seek to deliver the undeliverable, then the green firestorm will be joined by an Orange one, and we shall have full-scale civil war in all Ireland."

Rescuing Social Security

Once again the Social Security system is in need of rescue. As recently as 1977 Congress thought it had put the system in the black by raising the Social Security tax. Alas, the higher tax was off-set by a deteriorating economy and a generous indexing of benefits to inflation—another example of higher taxes failing to eliminate a deficit. Indeed, a higher Social Security tax on employment may have contributed to the deterioration of the economy.

The Reagan Administration has a better understanding of the effect of taxes on Gross National Product and knows that Social Security can not be saved unless the economy is. The Reagan economic package, by raising employment and lowering infla-

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Hold On, Mrs. Thatcher

Letter bombs at breakfast;
  Rude MPs at lunch;
Brixton on the burner;
  Snide remarks in *Punch*;
Miners mad as hatters;
  Socialists in heat;
This low lot will always
  Throw up at "Dutch treat."

W. H. VON DREELE

tion, gives a big boost to the solvency of Social Security. In addition, it looks as if an Administration bill is taking shape that will further strengthen the social Security system without harming retirees.

The reform proposals include measures long advocated by conservatives such as: 1) reducing the welfare elements that were tacked on over time to the retirement system, 2) eliminating non-medical grounds for disability benefits and preventing disability payments from exceeding former earnings, 3) scaling down the disproportionate benefits paid to people who work a few years under Social Security coverage after retiring from federal service, 4) phasing out the earnings test for those 65 and over, and 5) lowering payments to those who retire at 62 years of age.

The Administration also seems to have in mind correcting another big problem for the Social Security system. The system operates by inter-generational transfers. Workers pay in, and their payments are transferred to retirees as benefits. The system provides no investment funds to the economy. Yet retirement benefits mean that people do not have to rely on their own savings for their retirement, the savings rate suffers, and, with it, the ability of the economy to grow. In addition, the lifetime of payments into the Social Security system builds no wealth within the family, and the tax rate is high enough to prevent any wealth accumulation by lower income families. The supply-side economists in the Administration want to supply families with the ability to accumulate wealth. We may see an expansion of individual retirement accounts (IRAs) and a return of Social Security to its original role as a supplemental retirement system.

Return to Normalcy

"Normalcy"—restoration of which in the Israel-Lebanon-Syria triangle has been called and striven for by Secretary of State Alexander Haig—must be understood in a regional perspective. The term does not imply peace in any usual sense. For Syria, the norm vis-à-vis Israel is unremitting enmity, even during intervals of military inactivity. For Lebanon, a once-delightful enclave of peace and collaboration among diverse faiths, the norm is armed struggle between irreconcilable Christian and Moslem forces—the latter abetted by a Syrian occupation under the rubric of a peacekeeping operation. For Israel, the norm includes continual air surveillance and occasional jet strikes against militant Palestinian infiltrators, and anxiety lest the riven land become wholly dominated—to the disparagement of Israel's own security—by indigenous Moslem militants abetted by Syria's so-called peacekeepers.

What has upset the norms is Syria's introduction of surface-to-air missiles in Lebanon—an initiative in violation of an informal agreement between the adversaries said to have been worked out by Secretary of State Kissinger five years ago. The effect is to threaten foreclosure of Israel's pertinent air operations. A potential consequence is the reactivation of direct warfare between Syria and Israel—setting in motion the woeful dynamics always latent in Middle Eastern normalcy. The modest measure of peace arrived at in the Camp David accords could be wiped out. No end of dire things might ensue.

Israel's Prime Minister Menahem Begin—whose chances of winning the upcoming parliamentary elections have been signally improved by the crisis—aptly epitomized the meaning of the pertinent norms in an appeal the other day to Syrian President Hafez-al Assad "as enemy to enemy" for removal forthwith of the SAMs. Israeli operations to destroy the SAMs are logically to be expected if Syria remains obdurate. The Soviet role in the sudden heightening of danger is obscure. As one would expect, the Kremlin is not overtly egging the Syrians on. Yet the Soviet Union is the source of supply—and its interest in frustrating the Camp David accords is no secret.

Oh, Billy Jean

L'affaire Billy Jean King promises to stimulate reflection on a number of serious matters, not the least of which is the challenge posed by contemporary assumptions to traditional understanding. In the end the whole thing may turn out to have been of considerable usefulness to intellectual clarification.

The tennis champion, as the story unfolds, had a seven-year lesbian relationship with a blond former hairdresser named Marilyn Barnett, who, on that basis, proposes to sue Billy Jean for an expensive house in Malibu plus support for life. The suit represents an extension into homosexual relationships of the Lee Marvin case, in which the actor was sued for a substantial sum by a mistress on the grounds of an implied marriage contract.

According to the common law, a woman may claim marital rights if, after an agreement to marry, the legal contract is not formalized but she nevertheless con-

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Memo to: You

From: Jim McFadden

I was privileged to attend the truly marvelous party celebrating the 15th Anniversary of Bill Buckley's "Firing Line" (seems impossible that it's been on TV that long -- and getting better and better too). The invited included everyone who's appeared on the show, so you can imagine that it was quite a gathering -- a big roomful of people you'd never imagine would be in the same place together but for this occasion -- a tribute, I'd say, to the uniqueness of "Firing Line."

Not surprisingly, this set me to pondering what's wrong with it: all that "good stuff," zillions of spoken words ranging from the truly memorable to the merely interesting, lost in the sense that, if you didn't see/hear it yourself, it's gone (and who, having heard it, can remember it all?). That's why I've often sent for tape recordings of shows I've liked the most, e.g., any time the great Malcolm Muggeridge is the guest. Well, the party made me replay some Buckley-Muggeridge cassettes and, sure enough, they get better and better the more you hear them. You can't catch it all the first time -- also, I play them for friends, and it never fails to turn the night into more than the usual (with many "play that part again" interruptions as the conversation -- or argument -- blooms).

Wouldn't you like to hear one of them? Naturally, that's the next thought that struck me. So I inquired: Could we reproduce copies of the original sound track? Lo and behold (why didn't I think of this before) the good people in charge said OK. Thus, dear reader, you may now become the proud owner of a cassette-tape that will replay for your delight the entire Buckley-Muggeridge "Firing Line" program on the fascinating subject: "How Does One Find Faith?" Your friendly local atheist would relish this one, with WFB asking the right questions, and MM giving his inimitable answers. Sample:

MM: Jesus had to suffer. Otherwise, what's the cross? There's no sacrifice. At the same time, he had to be God because he was perfect.

WFB: "Christ without the crucifixion is liberalism," said Whittaker Chambers.

MM: Yes, it's very good, that.

Now that you have pen poised over checkbook, simply use the card facing this page to subscribe or renew now for a full year of NR at the regular $24 rate, and we'll gladly send you a free copy of this very Buckley-Muggeridge "Firing Line" tape-cassette. If you are a new subscriber, please check the appropriate box (if it's a renewal, our trusty computer will automatically add another 26 valuable issues to your current term, no matter when it is now due to expire). As soon as we receive your order, we'll run off a cassette and send it to you as fast as we can -- free, with all postage, etc., paid by us. A Heavenly bargain, you might say -- don't miss it. Fill out and return the card facing this page now, before you get distracted?

J.P.M.

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tinues to cohabit with the man in an arrangement which is a marriage in every other respect. The Marvin case was at best a grey area of the common law. The mistress herself had her name legally changed to Marvin. He himself could have done so in the regular way, but did not. No extraordinary circumstance prevented him from legally marrying her. He did not.

In the Billy Jean matter, incidental comedies abound. She has long taken advanced positions on women's rights. Now up jumps Marilyn Barnett, demanding her own interpretation of her "rights." It is a humorous case of the biter bit.

Then there is the anomalous status of Billy Jean's husband, Larry King, who is staying in the marriage. In a normal property settlement, husband and wife divide the property. But Barnett is demanding *half* of Billy Jean's property, and *half* of her future income. That is, she is demanding *some* of Larry King's presumptive property. She is asking the cuckold to pay for the privilege in an updated version of a Restoration comedy.

If the Barnett principle is enshrined as legal precedent, it could be formulated as follows: an irregular sexual relationship entitles you to a major financial settlement. An entire new industry could open up.

But some serious points need making here. Marriage as traditionally understood is a legal contract. It entails numerous rights and legal entitlements precisely because it has been the preferred environment for child-rearing. Various kinds of relationships among people have always existed, but marriage has always possessed a special legal status. What Marvin's mistress and, now, Marilyn Barnett are asking is that the law recognize these irregular relationships as the legal equivalent of marriage. Why should the courts undertake to do what the parties in fact never did?

In Barnett versus King, the plaintiff will be claiming implicit marriage. But, according to the legal tradition as summarized in *Black's Law Dictionary*, "Marriage . . . is founded on the distinction of sex." The plaintiff here is proposing a revolutionary revision of that undertaking.

Final point. There has always been a strong case, based upon the argument from privacy, for keeping the law out of sexual relationships among consenting adults. But Marilyn Barnett is turning that argument on its head—as are other spokesmen and spokeswomen for the gay rights movement. They are not asking for private rights but for public and legal validation. It is no longer a question of the law coming into the bedroom, but of the bedroom coming into the courtroom and demanding legal equality for an irregular relationship.

Barnett unwittingly has thus given us a useful case regarding which some legal and also principled distinctions can be made.

Notes & Asides

■ Memo to: WFB
From: Ed Capano

Thanks to our readers, we have replenished the missing stock of the March 20 issue—so we won't need any more for the bound volumes. The response was so overwhelming, our readers so kind, I can't undertake to thank them personally. One of them wrote, with the returned issued, a note asking, "How exactly do I go about sending you a copy of NATIONAL REVIEW 'collect'?" Please give that reader the information.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Having recently read *Who's on First* and Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn's criticism of certain details relating to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, one other item came to my attention. As a former passport agent, I should like to point out a detail concerning the regular passport, H-2452463, used by Blackford Oakes in 1956 (p. 86). The Passport Office did not introduce letter prefixes until January 1, 1961. For future reference, the system is keyed to the year of issue. Passports issued in 1971 would bear the letter B, and so on until 1979, when the letter K is used (the letter I is omitted from the sequence). At the start of the next decade, the sequence repeats again from A through K.

Sincerely yours,
Evan M. Duncan
Arlington, Va.

Dear Mr. Duncan: It seems progressively clear that Oakes is *an impostor*! Next we will learn that he is a secret Bilderberger, CFR-er, or—a TRI! Speaking for myself, I shall never trust him again (though I have to admit, he seems to have performed useful service in the forthcoming *Marco Polo, If You Can*). WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

How utterly déclassé
A blot on one's antimaccassar,
To liken those apes in the tiniest way
To the cretinous yahoos at Vassar.

Luke Asbury
San Rafael, Calif.

Dear Mr. Asbury: I don't remember making the comparison but your rejection of it is very funny. Cordially,
WFB

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■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

This is the third letter that I am writing to you. Having not received an answer from my second letter, I am assuming that you did not receive it, and that our communications have been sabotaged by the Postal Service.

1. I wish to offer long-delayed condolences to your brother on his loss in November. However, I read that your brother has got a job as an Under Secretary of State, so Buckley still goes to Washington . . .

2. CONGRATULATIONS ON THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF NATIONAL REVIEW!!!! Despite the fact that I have read your biweekly polemical paper for only two years, my political outlook has grown and improved greatly.

3. For Mr. B. Oakes: You *are*, whether you realize it or not, Catholic! the final words of Chapter 19 of *Stained Glass* state: "Now he was taking Holy Orders in a reconstituted chapel at St. Anselm's, and felt peace at last, and slept." Now, since St. Anselm's is a Catholic chapel, and since this is pre-Vatican II, so only Catholics would use the chapel, therefore you are a Catholic QED. Now you can hit Buckley with this, castigating his overactive euphemistic ability.

4. To Cato: Will you please kindly repent of your statement made *very* early in 1980 (perhaps that's why you made it?) that there was no way that the Republicans could take over the Senate in November? Perhaps you need a remedial course in Political Analysis?

5. To D. Keith Mano: I liked *The Bridge*, your columns are great, and you look better without the beard and moustache.

6. Do you see how much I save on postage?

7. WHAT IN THE NAME OF GOD HAS HAPPENED TO THE CHURCH? DEPARTMENT: Good and bad from Bishop Guertin H.S. At Masses given before classes, the few students that do attend are allowed to drink the wine! (I personally do not take the bread or the wine, because I haven't had First Communion yet, despite my 15 years of age.) However, there is a large religious section in the school library, full of pre-Vatican II Catholic books that the liberal theologians failed to get their hooks into.

8. Get Kreuttner back! Fast!

9. I saw you on *60 Minutes* on January 18, and your performance was excellent.

10. Why did Russell Kirk have to leave?

11. I will now sign off and leave you to practice your ventriloquism.

Conservatively,
Ronald Carrier
Merrimack, N.H.

"In other news today, Congress voted to cut the huge dairy subsidy."

■ Dear Ronald:

I am constrained to confess that I harbored a doubt that you were only 15. To be sure, you have the chutzpah of a 15-year old, but your manner is rather more assured than one associates with the age. So I had you checked out. You did not dissemble. And, after all, at 21 Max Beerbohm published his first book (*The Collected Works of Max Beerbohm*). To work: 1) Thanks. 2) Thanks. 3) Don't tell me what B. Oakes's religion is, I being an authority on the subject. You are too young to try to get away with quoting out of context. The passage you cite comes after the following words: "Back in his room, he undressed, showered, and put on fresh pajamas. His dreams were tormenting, confused. He was at Yale, entering an examination room without having read any of the books, but when he reached for them they quicksilvered their way through his fingers. He was in Washington, surreptitiously dropping the addresses of the safe houses to the Soviet ambassador, when a hand clapped him on the shoulder: it was J. Edgar Hoover. He was in Buckingham Palace at a ball when suddenly his trousers slipped down, and he was wearing no underwear. Suddenly he was the Dutch boy back at the dike. He looked down, to find that Holland was being kept from flooding—by a wine bottle pressed into the dike. *Now he was taking Holy Orders in a reconstituted chapel at St. Anselm's, and felt peace at last, and slept.*" Blackford Oakes isn't a student at Yale, a Soviet agent, a streaker in London, a Dutchman—or a Catholic. 4) Cato has been changed. 5) Keith Mano does indeed look better without a beard. 6) No. 7) Your godparents are negligent. 8) We've written Kreuttner, why don't you try? 9) Thanks. 10) Russell Kirk said 25 years was enough for a column on a single theme. 11) My ventriloquism is coming along, though there is a little confusion in Europe, where they are hearing more than one voice. Cordially, **—WFB**

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The Current WISDOM

Armstrong's Arrival

NEAL B. FREEMAN

WE ASKED HIM the same question you would have asked him: "So whatsa story, Armstrong? Where do you get off dumping on the President's economic program?" Or words to that effect.

He answers solicitously, "Have you had lunch?" Fortunately for both of us, the answer is yes, for lunch has already been served. Senatorial splendor it's not. One styrofoam cup of soup, one plastic spoon and, in a concession to the amenities, one napkin. Fat city.

Senator William Armstrong, a freshman Republican from Colorado with an insistent preference for just plain Bill, is at 44 unlined, limber, clear-eyed. After eight years in Washington (six as a congressman), he finds himself an overnight success in national politics, the budgeteer more Draconian than Draco himself.

He expresses dismay that the press should have seen his stand in the Senate Budget Committee as a "setback" for the President. Such was not his intent and such will not be the result of his action, he predicts. His insinuation into the budget debate of such considerations as presidential rescission authority, attentuated outlay rates and reduced spending targets will, he argues, clear the political underbrush from the path of the tax cut program.

You Can't Get There

His resolve and that of his colleagues Grassley (R., Iowa) and Symms (R., Ind.) will prove critical to the success of Reagan's economic recovery program. His position is kin to the Vermont farmer's who says you can't get there from here. Given the alignment of congressional forces, they say, you can't begin to achieve a Kemp-size tax cut without first enacting a Reagan-size spending cut. If you put taxes before spending, you put the cart before the horse with the utterly predictable consequences.

Armstrong seems comfortable both with the position he articulates and the spotlight it has attracted to him.

As a senatorial figure, he is not cut to the standard patterns. Unlike some of his contemporaries, he is not a mail-order senator sold from a slick catalogue to a computerized constituency. The people of Colorado know him, like him, and seem prepared to keep him around for as long as he cares to serve. Nor is he a New Class senator more at home in the courtyards of Georgetown and among the Danish modern of K Street than in the foothills of the Rockies. His résume gives him away. It betrays a monumental disinterest in the collection of credentials: no active-duty military service, no college degree, no think-tank connections. From his paper record alone, he would have trouble landing a job as a Senate *intern*.

What his record does reveal is a serious interest in capital. The Armstrongs migrated westward to seek their fortune, of all things. They started businesses, met payrolls, bought and sold, wheeled and dealed. Politician Armstrong sold off his newspaper in Colorado Springs in 1977 and his FM radio station in Aurora last year, but he still owns easy-listening KEZW-AM in suburban Denver, and he is surely the only member of the United States Senate who perceives himself not primarily as a public official but as an owner: "I'm in the radio business," he introduces himself. He thus understands the real economic world in a way that Edward ("I'm in trusts and remainders") Kennedy never will. He *intuits* the efficacy of supply-sider incentives while the Kennedys turn to professors of economics to explain just why it is that they won't work.

It is not easy to get a political fix on Bill Armstrong. He's moving too fast these days. His planet circles in that speculative galaxy just beyond the outer rings of Reaganism, just beyond the worlds of George Bush and Jack Kemp, Walter Mondale and Ted Kennedy. It is a wonderful place for a young politician to be, dancing with the present while flirting with the future. Armstrong remarks clearly, and profits from the difference between the frontbench and the backbench. Up front in the Budget Committee, burdened with the gavel, amiable Pete Domenici must find an acceptable ending to each legislative chapter. Hard choices and hard feelings become the debts that leadership pays to responsibility. In seeking a balanced budget—or should we say a defensibly imbalanced budget—as his highest priority, Domenici sets off a clamor of criticism from the supply-siders. (Those afraid to strike at the king strike at the inviting target of his principal aide, Steve Bell, a mild-mannered staffer who is growing to mythological proportions in the Rabelaisian columns of Bob Novak.) As an intellectual proposition, Domenici knows that a tax cut need not wait upon a balanced budget to release its restorative serum into the economic bloodstream. But as a political tactician he needs the wisdom of the Vermont farmer. he tries to patch things up on the left, then the right, then with the White House lobbyists who—perhaps it's his imagination—seem to be casting aspersions on his legislative manhood. He wriggles out of the impasse. He frets.

Winning Friends

From the backbench where Bill Armstrong sits, the view is altogether different. It's a wonderful day today, just like yesterday, just like tomorrow. What the fiscal crisis offers him is not the imperative to choose among competing economic schools, but the opportunity to embrace all of them—simultaneously. With equal vigor, and believable conviction, he espouses the balanced budget, the supply-side tax cut and the policy of monetary restraint. He is passionate in the tactical skirmish, eclectic in the strategic struggle. He wins friends, fast friends, in all three camps.

The "conservative revolt" in the Budget Committee will soon be forgotten. The restless eye of the media will search elsewhere, alighting on other issues, other personalities. What will be remembered is the emergence of an attractive and determined young senator from Colorado. For Bill Armstrong, these are the good old days. □

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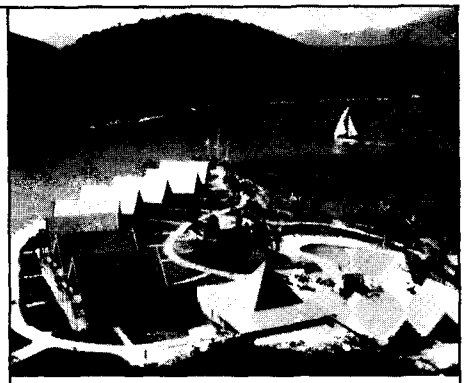
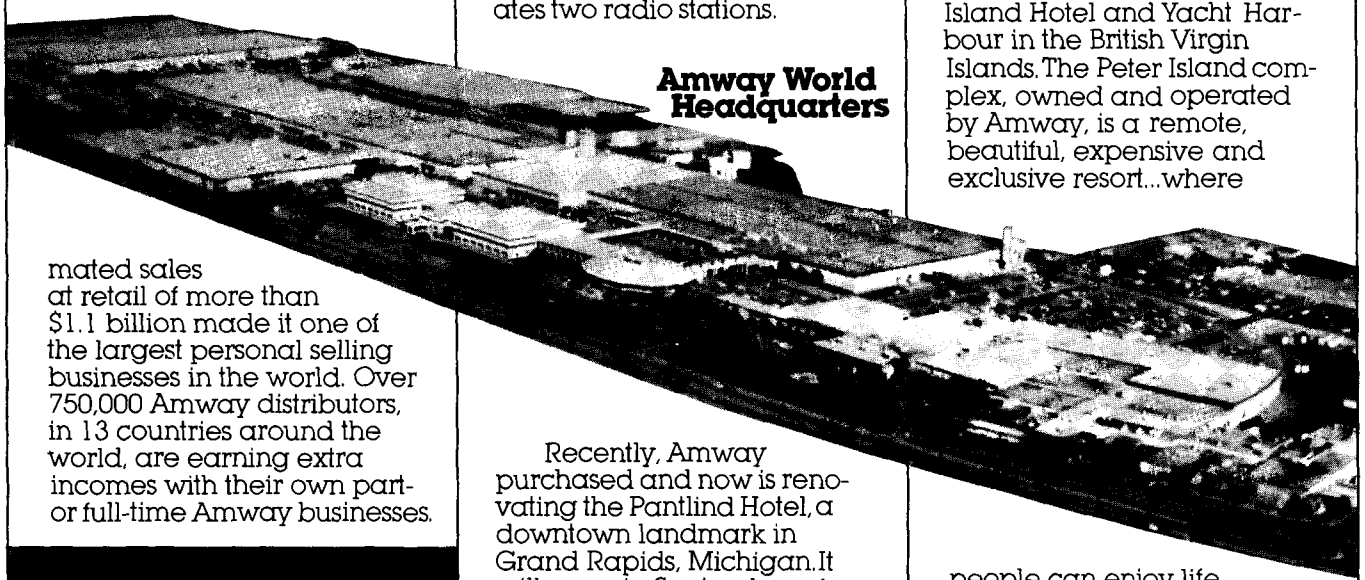
Amway -an American success story.



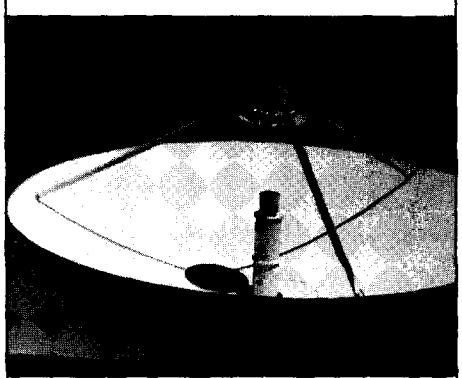
Peter Island Hotel and Yacht Harbour

Another dimension of the World of Amway is the Peter Island Hotel and Yacht Harbour in the British Virgin Islands. The Peter Island complex, owned and operated by Amway, is a remote, beautiful, expensive and exclusive resort...where people can enjoy life as never before.

Since it was organized in Ada, Michigan, just over twenty-one years ago, Amway Corporation has experienced continuing and impressive growth. In 1980, Amway's estimated sales at retail of more than $1.1 billion made it one of the largest personal selling businesses in the world. Over 750,000 Amway distributors, in 13 countries around the world, are earning extra incomes with their own part- or full-time Amway businesses.



Amway World Headquarters



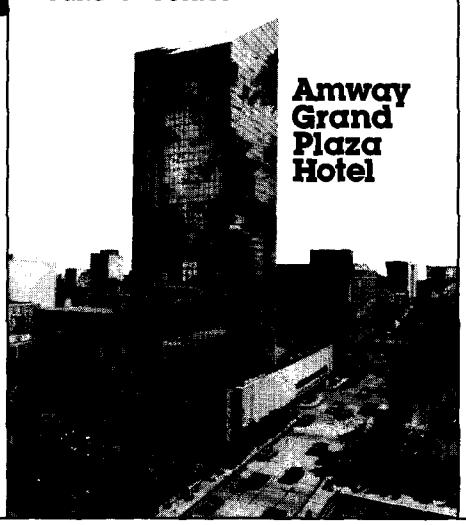
Mutual Broadcasting System

But the Amway story doesn't stop there. Amway is also a diversified corporation with properties in a variety of business areas.

In 1978, Amway bought the Mutual Broadcasting System, the world's largest radio network. From its headquarters in Arlington, Virginia, Mutual furnishes news, sports, special events and public affairs programming to more than 1000 affiliate stations. Mutual also owns and operates two radio stations.

Recently, Amway purchased and now is renovating the Pantlind Hotel, a downtown landmark in Grand Rapids, Michigan. It will open in September of this year as the Amway Grand Plaza Hotel.

In addition, Amway is constructing an adjacent 28-story hotel tower to be completed in 1983. Altogether, the Amway Grand Plaza will offer 700 deluxe accommodations in the heart of the city's retail, commercial and cultural center.



Amway Grand Plaza Hotel

Amway's success didn't just happen. It's the result of hard work by many people in a society which values the precepts of free enterprise. Because we want to keep that opportunity open to everyone, we maintain an active program of information and education which is disseminated through the Amway Free Enterprise Institute. If you would like to join us in that effort, write: Dr. Joseph McNamara, 7575 E. Fulton Rd., Ada, Michigan 49355.

Amway

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Apocalyptic Thoughts

The Protracted Conflict

BRIAN CROZIER

THE LATE John Foster Dulles used to talk about the "roll-back," although how he proposed to get Stalin, or even Khrushchev, to agree to evacuate the new Soviet empire in Eastern Europe remained obscure. The term became unfashionable when Hungary exploded and all the West did was stand idly by.

Subject as always to correction, I am not aware that even Dulles at his most evangelistic meant the "roll-back" to include the USSR itself. Alas, Communism continued to spread and so, despite the great Sino-Soviet rift, did the Soviet empire.

It has long been apparent that the process will continue inexorably, whatever the temporary or tactical setbacks suffered by the Soviet leadership, as for instance when sensible men like Anwar el-Sadat and General Siad Barre decide they can do without Soviet advisors. I mean, to be more precise, that it will continue inexorably, unless and until the Soviet system itself collapses.

The most exhilarating new factor on the world scene is the possibility, for the first time since the failure of Winston Churchill's Archangel expedition of 1918-19, that the Soviet regime may indeed be facing collapse (if we are sensible enough to help instead of hinder the process of dissolution). The unthinkable is with us, and the policy-planning departments of Western foreign ministries and intelligence services ought to start thinking about it, right now.

Sorting Out the Poles

Poland is the bone that threatens to choke the Soviet bear. There is some evidence that the Soviet leaders had decided to "sort out" the Poles by force at the end of March, probably by extending the duties of the Warsaw Pact forces that had been exercising on Polish soil. Dire warnings came from the White House, just before President Reagan stopped a bullet, and Brezhnev told the assembled satraps in Prague that the Poles could do their own sorting out.

Some idea of what the Soviets meant by sorting out had emerged when police, heavily bolstered by KGB men, beat up Solidarity workers at Bydgoszcz on March 21. Infiltration, penetration, provocation: those are the standing orders. Somehow, Solidarity must be destroyed, for the notion of an independent source of workers' power in a "workers' state" is intolerable.

The trouble is that even the underhand methods of the police state are not necessarily going to work. The Polish United Workers' Party is in disarray. Prime ministers and Party bosses have succeeded one another with bewildering speed. The Poles are patriots and Catholics, not (except by lip service) Communists. And the Polish armed forces are, from the Soviet standpoint, a liability.

Brezhnev's dilemma, then, is this. If he orders an invasion, he risks a total American (and at least a partial West European and Japanese) freeze on transfers of technology and easy credits. If the freeze were kept up for the duration of President Reagan's term, the vision of a totally Soviet-dominated world by 1985 would turn to ashes. But if he doesn't order an invasion, the contagion of the Polish example will spread, first to other satellites, and at last to the USSR itself.

What will the Soviets *do*, if first the European empire, then the USSR itself, becomes ungovernable? There are two schools of thought. One argues that the danger of a Soviet nuclear strike, to assert supremacy while the going is good, will become acute. The other, that the regime will turn inward, allowing the external empire to disintegrate and returning to Stalinist repression in the internal empire of the Soviet republics.

It is against this background that the enormous amounts of effort and money being expended by the KGB and the International Department of the Party's Central Committee, to campaign for unilateral Western disarmament and to prevent the deployment of the new generation of American weapons, make sense. This again has a close bearing on whether or not to invade Poland. For if an invasion were ordered, the deployment of the new weapons could be accelerated (although the faint-hearted Dutch, Belgians, and West Germans could waver rather than stiffen).

It is this entirely new situation that ought to be studied, closely, constantly, and with strategic intent. At this point, too, our friends of the NTS deserve to be listened to attentively.

"NTS" is the Russian abbreviation for the Popular Labor Alliance of Russian Solidarists. Formed in 1930, the NTS has survived Stalin's murderous attentions and the losses of treachery and betrayal. It is the only nationwide clandestine resistance movement inside the USSR.

Enemies Within

Today the NTS is convinced that, in addition to the visible dissidents (of whom Andrei Sakharov is the most distinguished current example, since Solzhenitsyn was expelled), there is a large but muted opposition within the Soviet regime itself. That such an opposition does exist is a demonstrable fact. Every now and then, a member of it takes advantage of a foreign journey to defect to the West. How many more lack the nerve to make the break? That is where the figuring gets imprecise.

Can this internal opposition, within the privileged elite, be used when the apocalypse dawns? It is hard to say. These are people who have a stake in the set-up and who have done well out of the regime, in terms of dachas, private cars, and access to restricted shops. They have turned silently against the regime because they are scared of the logical end results of a policy of expansionism. On the other hand, they have no desire to lose their privileges. So they keep quiet and nurse their cynicism.

Could they become vitally important at the point of collapse? Or is it not more likely that they would simply be swept away as the czarist aristocracy was, in a general upheaval that would consign Brezhnev or his successor to the "dustbin of history"?

Frankly, I do not pretend to know the answer. What I am sure of is that this is the kind of roll-back that should engage our cogitation. □

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KEMP-ROTH Meets the O'NEILL GANG

DONALD LAMBRO

When House Speaker Tip O'Neill called a meeting last month of the Democratic Steering and Policy Committee, he asked some of the high priests of the Keynesian faith to attend the services. These practitioners of the Dark Side of Economics—what one might well call voodoo economics—were summoned to O'Neill's chambers to tell senior Democratic leaders what they so desperately wanted to hear: what is wrong with cutting income-tax rates as President Reagan has proposed.

The economists, Otto Eckstein, Walter Heller, along with a few acolytes from the Brookings Institution, didn't disappoint O'Neill and his friends. According to an observer at the closed-door meeting, the Democratic chieftains "played devil's advocate by challenging them to respond to the Administration's claims for the Reagan tax package." Their unanimous predictions of what would happen if Kemp-Roth were passed: rampant inflation, a skyrocketing deficit, high unemployment, severe recession.

Strangely enough, the House leaders seemed to respond to these dire warnings with a subdued relief. The economists' testimony not only reinforced their worst fears but confirmed their most stubborn beliefs. Hooked on the habit of pure demand-side, pump-priming economics, they needed nothing more than to hear the warning that the withdrawal symptoms would be intolerable. Their strategy was then clear: declare all-out war on Kemp-Roth.

Of course, cutting taxes, anyone's taxes, has never been part of true Democratic religion. Sure, Russell Long, when he was chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, and Al Ullman, the deposed Oregon congressman who ruled the Ways and Means Committee, tinkered with the system and manipulated a panoply of tax credits and deductions that offered more than they delivered. Long and Ullman knew that the inflation-fueled progressive income tax structure would keep pumping the revenue into Washington in greater amounts each year without the need to change a single digit on the tax schedules.

Kemp-Roth is one prong of the Administration's plan to slow down Washington's siphoning off of the nation's wealth; it would reduce the marginal income tax rates—that is, the tax rate on each additional dollar of income—by 10 per cent a year over three years. In addition, the Reagan plan includes accelerated depreciation of business investment, continued reduction in federal spending, the slashing of costly regulations, and a restrained monetary policy designed to stabilize prices. After the tax rates have been reduced, Reagan wants them indexed to keep them from automatically increasing with inflation.

Thus, the marginal personal income tax rate would be lowered from the existing 14 to 70 per cent range to a range of 10 to 50 per cent. This would have the effect of also reducing the top capital gains tax rate from 28 per cent down to 20 per cent. It would also eliminate the tax distinction between earned and "unearned" income.

Meantime, Reagan's increasing popularity has given O'Neill and his Democratic friends a case of high anxiety. The Boston Irishman's usual bluster and bravado gave way to a painfully evident insecurity at the end of the Easter recess, when he conceded to reporters that Reagan was headed for a Round One victory in the House on his budget package. "I can read Congress," O'Neill said. "They go with the will of the people, and the will of the people is to go along with the President. I've been in politics a long time and I know when you fight and when you don't."

His statement enraged House liberals, some of whom privately told the former Cambridge insurance salesman that he had "betrayed" the liberal Democratic cause. In the event, O'Neill's instincts were right, as the Administration's resounding victory in the House proved. But the road through Congress's byzantine budget process is mined with legislative boobytraps that can still shred Reagan's package to pieces over the next several months. The consensus on both sides of the aisle is that most of Reagan's spending cuts will emerge in good shape by the beginning of the 1982 fiscal year, on October 1. The President's tax cut proposals are another matter.

The expectation is that Reagan's tax cuts, with some ad-

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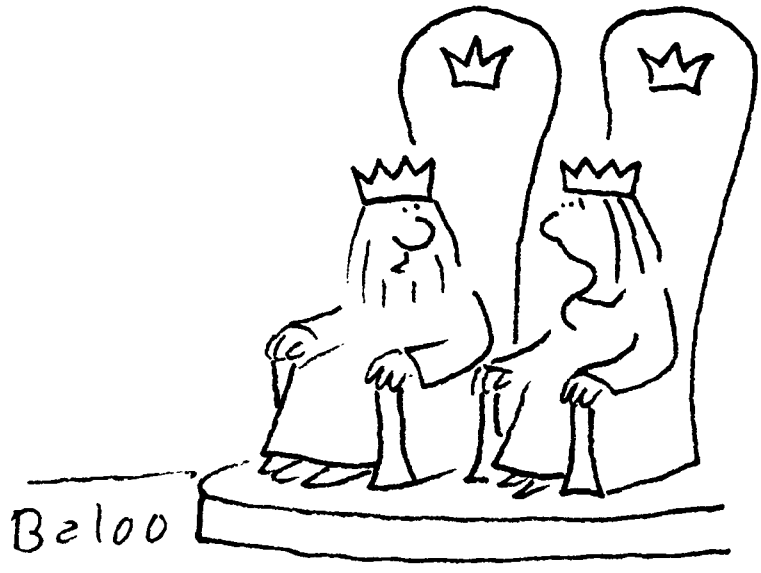
help !!!!

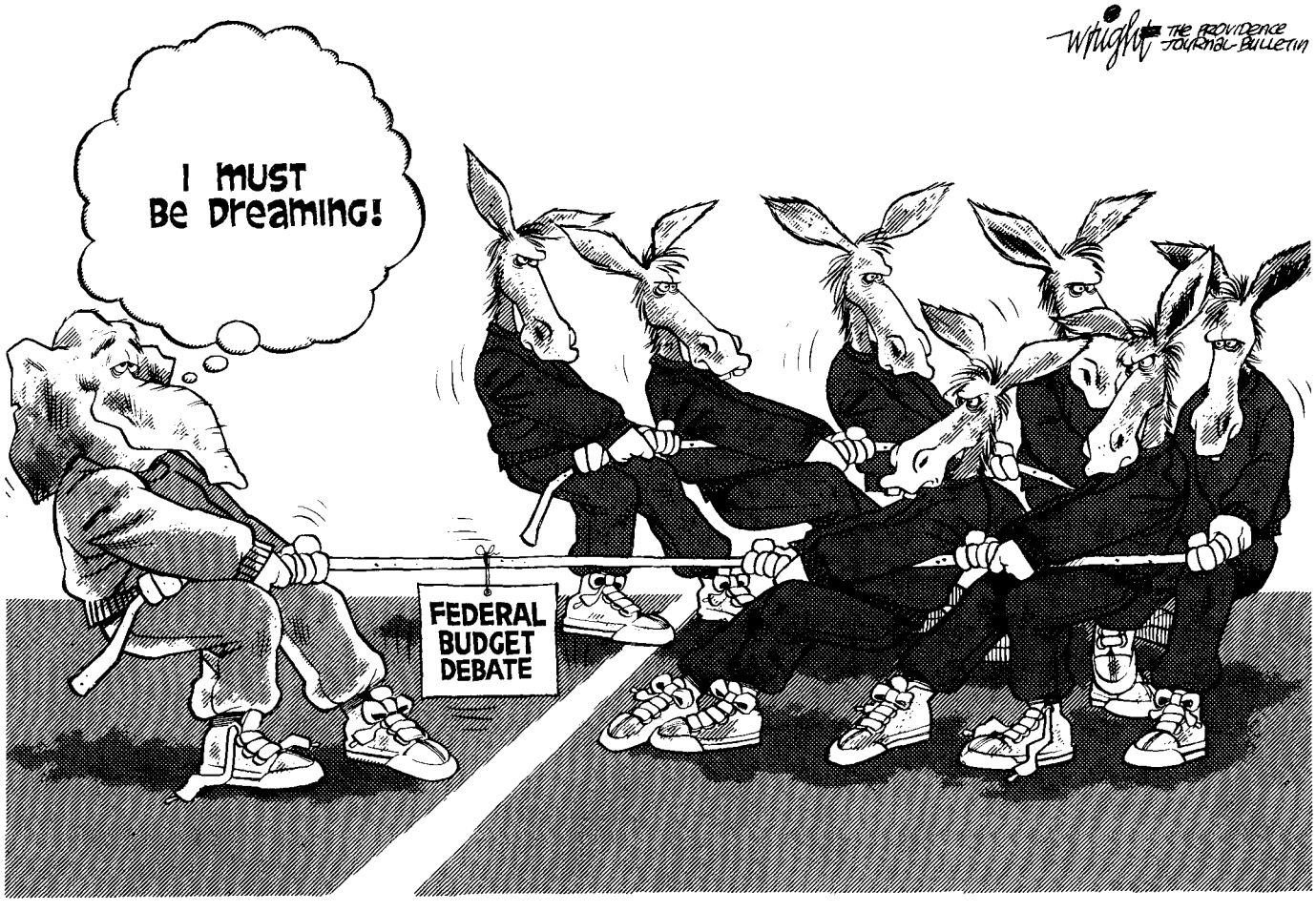
Someone's in the Kitchen With Janet

Said a President's man with a grin,
Cooking the news is a sin,
But how nice when the roast
Is the *Washington Post*,
So juicy with Woodward's chagrin.

—JOHANNES EFF



"Don't tell anybody I asked, but just what is *lèse majesté?"*



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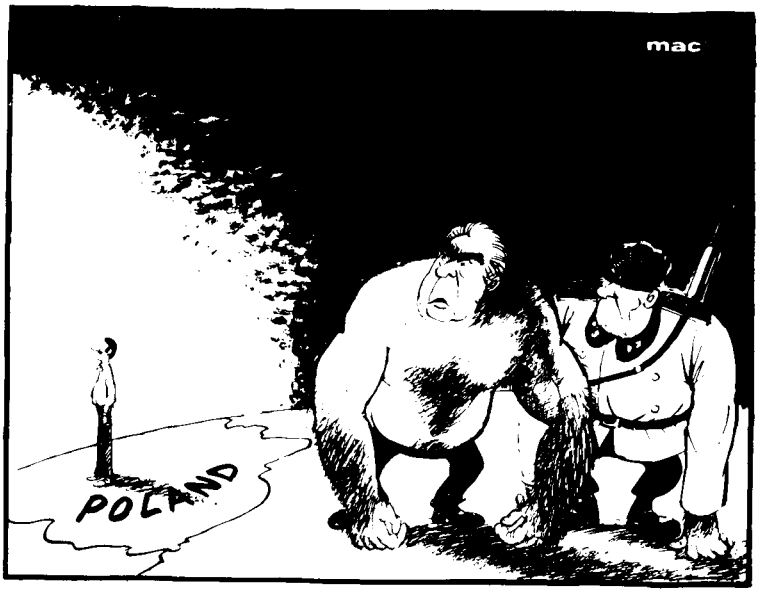
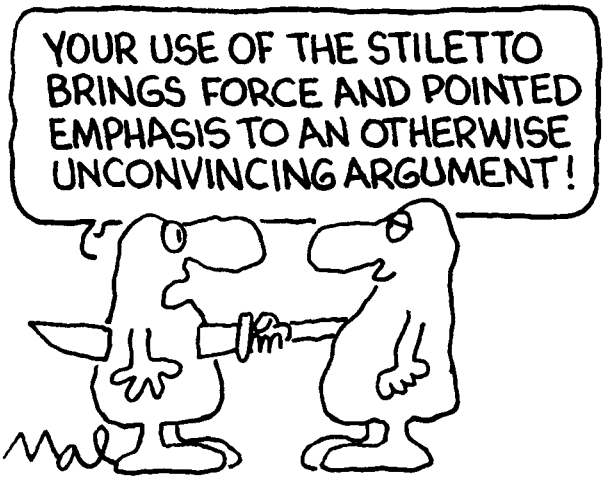


Mac, *London Daily Mail*

"We could always call it a hug-in."



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justments, will make their way through the Republican-controlled Senate. But tax cut legislation must originate in the House, where Reagan's proposals face an uncertain fate from the people who have built their careers on income redistribution based on a "share the wealth" philosophy.

The Hit Men

There are many forces in the House whose knives are poised to strike Kemp-Roth, each employing different tactics, each possessing powers far beyond those of mortal men.

Tip O'Neill, the son of a bricklayer-politician and a protégé of James Michael Curley, has always leaned very heavily on "the will of the people," as he did in his prescient statement to the press last month. Yet deep in his heart he doesn't believe this is the best guide. In a *Face the Nation* interview several years ago, he said: "There are instances where it is in the best interest of the nation not to vote the will of the people." O'Neill may believe this is one of those times, but he knows the votes are against him.

Despite his image as an affable old Boston pol who only wants good things for people, O'Neill's record as a lawmaker and as a Democratic leader has been remarkably consistent on three points: he has opposed tax reduction, a balanced budget, and spending restraint.

This is the philosophy that the 69-year-old O'Neill brings with him as he confronts the biggest tax reduction proposal in our history, but he doesn't bring much else. "Taxes?" replied a veteran O'Neill-watcher on Capitol Hill. "O'Neill knows nothing about taxes. He's an old-line pol right out of Edwin O'Connor who loves to wax eloquent about what he's done for the poor and the needy. But don't talk to him about technical things like taxes. He doesn't understand the first thing about them." To which an O'Neill aide said, "Tip doesn't want to be bothered with details. That's what he pays us for. He relies on his committee chairmen."

Republicans offered numerous proposals in the last Congress to cut spending and reduce taxes, but O'Neill was against every one of them because, he said, they threatened to "emasculate traditional Democratic programs." So O'Neill's rearguard forces over the last two years continued their profligate ways: increasing health, education, and welfare spending by $34 billion; raising CETA funding despite massive evidence of fraud and abuse; blindly reauthorizing ineffective and wasteful programs, from the $200-million Law Enforcement Assistance Administration to HUD's $675-million Urban Development Action Grants (UDAG)—all told, shoving the budget from $579.6 billion in 1980 to $663 billion in fiscal 1981, with budget deficits of nearly $60 billion in each of those years.

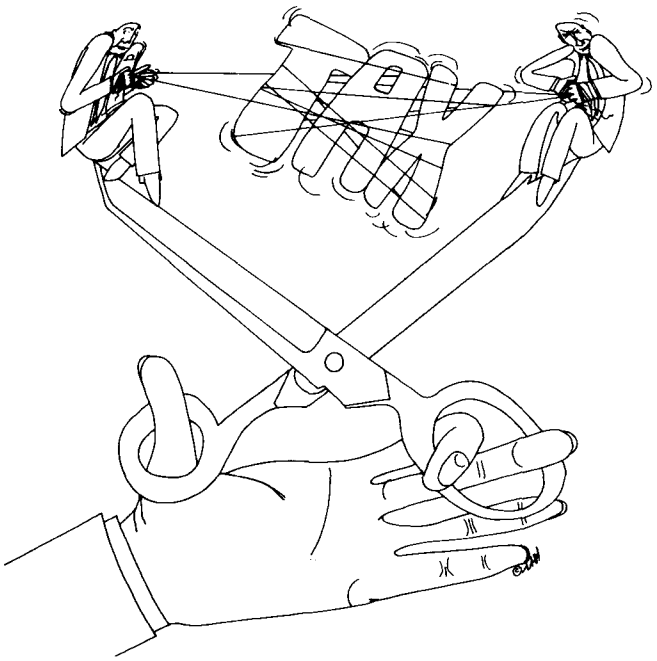
Tax cuts? They would be counterproductive, the Speaker of the House believes. They would fuel inflation. They would seriously reduce needed revenues and thus endanger all those important Democratic programs for the poor—such as UDAGs to help build Hyatt-Regency Hotels, and $5 billion in revenue sharing for cities like Dallas and Houston whose treasuries are bulging with budget surpluses.

After suffering serious losses in 1978 and then again in 1980, O'Neill and his cohorts are clearly uneasy about their future. "We must recognize that the elections of 1982 and 1984 will be the most important for our party since 1932 and 1934," he tells Democrats. The once mighty Democratic majority in the House has dwindled to a mere 241 to 190 (with four vacancies). Still, O'Neill wants to uphold traditional Democratic dogma forbidding substantial, permanent, across-the-board tax cuts for all income groups, because he fears that tax cuts will leave Congress less to spend and thus weaken the source of Democratic power. Tip O'Neill and other liberals in Congress are sincerely excited over the prospects of spending the rich dividends that their own inflationary programs will bring them—windfall tax revenues that are expected to total over $1 trillion a year by 1985 under existing tax rates. But O'Neill also wants to survive. And for many Democrats survival at this point far outweighs the old-time religion of soak-the-rich economics.

House Democratic leader James C. Wright Jr. of Fort Worth, Texas is no Tip O'Neill. He won his leadership post in 1976 by one vote, defeating liberal Representative Philip Burton (D., Calif.), and has since charted a political path that exploits the rhetoric of conservatives while at the same time opposing meaningful tax reduction and championing bigger budgets.

Last year, when Democrats feared that the public's perception of congressional waste and wantonness spelled doom at the polls, Wright desperately dusted off the Republican Party's balanced-budget rhetoric. In his version of it, however, the White House would have shouldered the responsibility through a confused scheme that would have given the President extraordinary impoundment powers over Congress. The plan went nowhere, as intraparty bickering over spending and priorities sent divided Democrats home to seek re-election without completing nearly a dozen major appropriations bills, driving the budget deeper into the red.

When it comes to economics or tax policy, Wright knows about as much as Tip O'Neill. In Wright's book, government spending does not cause inflation. People do. "People think things are going to get worse," he told a reporter, "so they go out and borrow to buy items that they need because they



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think the items will cost more next year. All of this contributes to inflation."

Despite this remedial "see inflation run" understanding of basic free-market economics, the Texas Democrat tries to portray himself as moderate in his approach to spending and taxes. But his voting record belies that illusion. Wright has voted against amendments to cut spending, against a balanced budget, against tax cuts; between 1976 and 1979 he supported nearly $200 billion in deficit spending. He has consistently opposed every tax cut amendment offered by Representative Jack Kemp (R., N.Y.), or any other Republican for that matter.

Both Wright and O'Neill look to Dan Rostenkowski of Illinois, the new chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, to win them their tax battle with Reagan and the Republicans. Oddly enough, the Chicago Democrat occupies the most influential post on the tax-writing panel somewhat against his will. (The job he really wanted was Democratic Whip.) "It wasn't that Rostenkowski was that good," said an O'Neill aide, "but Sam Gibbons [D., Fla.] would have been chairman. Sam is too lazy, and too easy-going. He wouldn't have been a strong chairman, and in conference with the Republican Senate they would have chewed him up on the tax bill."

So O'Neill convinced the gruff-talking Rostenkowski, his favorite traveling companion, to take the chairmanship, arguing that tax policy would be the fulcrum of congressional debate during the Reagan Administration, and that Rostenkowski was needed at the Ways and Means helm to see that Congress didn't give away the store.

Thus, it came as no surprise when Rostenkowski unveiled his one-year tax cut alternative to Reagan's Kemp-Roth plan, which the President denounced as "less than half a loaf." Reagan was being too generous. Instead of across-the-board reductions in the marginal rates, Rostenkowski proposes to cut the maximum tax rate on unearned income from 70 to 50 per cent, reduce tax rates on the lower income brackets, and lower the marginal tax rates or widen the tax brackets for taxpayers in the middle $20,000 to $50,000 range in order to offset Social Security tax increases.

Rostenkowski's tax cut proposal is income redistribution pure and simple, totally ignoring the supply-side factors inherent in Kemp-Roth, whose lowered marginal income tax rates for all brackets would provide an incentive to work, produce, and save, and thus increase the supply of taxable labor and saving. By narrowing its focus, and limiting the cuts to a one-year shot in the arm, Rostenkowski's plan would fail to provide the massive economic dose needed to cure the economy's chronic anemia.

What Rostenkowski's very limited tax bill seeks to do is to curry favor with the Democratic Party's bedrock constituencies in the lower income brackets while at the same time wooing the middle class who deserted the ranks in November. "If I, as a Democrat, can be accused of income redistribution, it's to this [middle-class] group," the Ways and Means baron bluntly admitted in a speech unveiling the tepid Democratic counter-proposal to Kemp-Roth.

But if there is anyone O'Neill, Wright, and Rostenkowski can look to as their last hope against Reagan's radical onslaught on the federal bureaucracy, it is Representative Jim Jones of Oklahoma, chairman of the House Budget Committee, and chief architect of the Democratic alternative budget package. Even though that proposal went down to defeat, we have not heard the last of it. What Jones put together was not just a laundry list of budget cuts, but a package of economic assumptions that will govern the shape of the tax cut to be crafted by Congress later this year.

In contrast to Reagan's fiscal 1982 economic assumptions of 7 per cent unemployment, 4.2 per cent real growth of GNP, 8.9 per cent interest rates, and 7.2 per cent inflation, Jones's assumptions foresaw 7.4 per cent unemployment, 2.4 per cent GNP growth, 12 per cent interest rates, and 9.9 per cent inflation. Implicit in Jones's figures was a tax increase of $80 billion, $39 billion higher than Reagan's. Included in Jones's tax-reform assumptions was a reduction in the maximum tax rates from 70 to 50 per cent, plus a widening of the tax brackets for middle-income earners by an average of 10 per cent—as Rostenkowski proposes. The effect of this latter change, however, would mean little tax relief in total and no relief at the margin, once again killing any incentive for workers.

In effect, Jones's package offered substantial tax relief for the very wealthy and for big business, increased social welfare programs for the poor and near-poor, but provided virtually no tax relief for the middle-income family. "This is, quite simply, a continuation of the tax policies which have been followed for the past 25 years," moaned a House GOP analyst. "The only change is that Congressman Jones and his party have now recognized that they are running out of taxes to squeeze from the middle class and they have chased the high-income earners out of the tax system into sheltered income."

The Fatal Flaw

But the Jones approach is doomed, because it fails to understand that no matter how much incentive you provide for investment, no matter how many millionaires you lure out of the tax shelters, the production of goods and services cannot be increased without labor. Once again, Jones's fatal flaw—Rostenkowski's, too—is that he undermines any incentive for workers to climb through their increased labor into higher income brackets. In other words, a Kemp analysis concludes, the Jones-Rostenkowski approach "will produce no increase in willingness to work harder or more efficiently, no incentive to seek more overtime, no incentive to improve skills and add to human capital, the mainstay of any economy."

And like Rostenkowski, the four-term Oklahoman does not hide the fact that his proposal is a deeply political one, intrinsically part of the Democratic Party's desire to reclaim old constituencies. "When I worked for Lyndon Johnson in the White House, our constituency was the truck driver who made $8,000 a year," Jones once recalled. "Today that man's wife is working, and they make $20,000 or $30,000 between them. And we've lost them." It is easy to see why, by examining the effect of the marginal income tax rates over the past 15 years, as inflation has pushed taxpayers into higher and higher tax brackets. In the mid-1960s a meager 7 per cent of all taxpayers were affected by marginal tax rates of 25 per cent or higher. However, 39 per cent of

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all taxpayers were in those tax brackets by 1977, and that figure has grown substantially over the last three years.

Meanwhile, if you think all this sounds like a Jimmy Carter rerun, you're right. The man Jones recruited to contrive his budget's underlying economic assumptions is none other than Van Ooms, Carter's former chief economist at the Office of Management and Budget.

Democratic Hideout

The Democratic counterattack against Reagan's tax cut proposals cannot possibly succeed without economic data to give their side credibility. Fortunately for the Democrats, for all practical purposes they control the $12-million-a-year Congressional Budget Office, whose director is a pureblooded Keynesian with advanced degrees in income redistribution from Bryn Mawr and Radcliffe. Her name is Alice Rivlin.

Though Mrs. Rivlin swears she is nonpartisan in her role as chief economic advisor to Congress, she has in fact surrounded herself with fellow Keynesians who have developed econometric models with inherent biases against tax cuts and for more government spending. When Senator Edward Kennedy prepared for his 1980 presidential campaign he invited five liberal economists to his home in McLean, Virginia to brief him. Alice Rivlin was among them.

More importantly, it is the economic data and analysis that she and her CBO staff have developed over the years that have provided liberals in Congress with the economic rationale for increased spending, higher deficits, and no meaningful tax reduction. "She believes that government's role must be to redistribute national income," said a Senate Budget Committee official. "She thinks that public spending is better than private spending, that incentives for increased savings are bad, that tax cuts won't work, and that taxes should continue to rise pretty much as they have. She's going in one direction, while the country, by electing Reagan, is going in the other."

Not so long after I suggested in my newspaper column that Mrs. Rivlin should be dismissed from her post in favor of someone more in tune with a more conservative Congress, she called to ask if "you would like to hear my side of the story." While the details of that interview were on background, I don't think I would be breaking Mrs. Rivlin's confidence to say she went to great lengths to convince me that she was neither anti-Reagan, nor anti-tax-cut. She had no serious quarrel with the depth of Reagan's budget cuts. In fact, she believed heavy cuts in spending were needed, as were significant tax cuts, though she declined to offer any details as to how far such tax cuts should go. Yet here was a side to Alice Rivlin that no one had seen before.

It was an illusion. With Senate Republicans breathing fire for her dismissal, Mrs. Rivlin was clearly campaigning to retain her post, and her zeal in pursuit of that task must have gotten the best of her. Shortly after our meeting, two highly reliable congressional aides just happened to be seated in a Capitol Hill bistro right next to Alice Rivlin, who was having lunch with Charles Schultze, the liberal chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors under Carter. While there is nothing wrong with a pair of kindred souls getting together, their conversation revealed Mrs. Rivlin's true beliefs, and the depth of her bias against free-market solutions to the nation's economic mess. So far from favoring significant tax cuts, Mrs. Rivlin made it clear that she believed the enactment of Kemp-Roth would be "awful," telling Schultze that CBO's figures had shown the proposal was "unsound." Nor did she disagree when Schultze offered the opinion that OMB Director David Stockman is solely "motivated by ideological beliefs" in seeking budget cuts rather than by a substantive evaluation of each expenditure he seeks to eliminate or diminish.

In 1974 Alice Rivlin responded to an economic speech given by President Ford, expressing dismay that "All strong measures were rejected." She made it clear that by "strong measures" she meant government controls such as gasoline rationing, a stiffer gasoline tax, and wage and price controls. In true soak-the-rich fashion, she has also urged that the tax burden be shifted "from the lower to higher income groups."

This is the Keynesian mentality that Mrs. Rivlin brings to bear when she runs various Democratic tax and spending proposals through CBO's econometric models, which are heavily weighted with demand-side assumptions that ignore the stimulative effects of tax cuts upon the economy. It is these biased data that Mrs. Rivlin will be supplying Rostenkowski and his crew as they attempt to discredit Kemp-Roth and build support for a Democratic alternative.

The initial round of the budget control process is almost over, but as O'Neill says, "It's a long road between now and final passage." The first budget resolution, now being completed by Congress, is not binding, and the appropriations and authorizing committee barons can slowly cut Reagan's budget to ribbons with velvet knives, one program at a time.

Rostenkowski says his committee won't begin drafting a tax bill before the end of May, if that early, as he waits to see whether the spending cuts will in fact be carried out. In the meantime, there are hundreds of people in Washington who will be working night and day to convince Congress that Reagan's tax cuts can't work; that, indeed, they will be harmful to the country.

In the end, though, a far simpler but in many ways more influential force may propel Reagan's multiple-year tax cuts through Congress, though very probably not in the precise 10-10-10 formula that he would prefer. That force may be the simple desire for political survival. The National Conservative Political Action Committee, invigorated by its stunning political kills of 1980, has targeted another herd of leading liberal bulls for extinction in 1982, including Wright, Rostenkowski, and Jones. "As Democrats, we must recognize the dimensions of the threat we face," O'Neill told the Democratic National Committee in February. "1980 wasn't a realigning election, but 1982 may be." Yet despite O'Neill's instinctive sense that his party may be in danger of losing control of the House next year if Reagan is even moderately successful in getting control of the economy, there is also deep self-delusion. "Liberalism made the middle class of America," O'Neill told the assembled Democrats. As long as he and his Democratic friends believe that, they will never understand the aspirations of 94 million taxpayers and the incentives and economic rewards that are at the heart of Kemp-Roth. □

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JOHN SAXON

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MADE... UNDERSTANDABLE

Algebra is not difficult. *Algebra is only* different. *And* time *is required for things that are different to metamorphose into things that are familiar.*

THE FALLING SCORES on standardized mathematics tests have led, over the last several years, to nothing less than a national guilt complex: Where have we gone wrong? How have we failed our children? Are these falling scores a harbinger of the total collapse of our educational system? What can we do? Is all hope lost?

All hope is not lost, and there is something we can do. Let's start by taking a look at the recent history of the teaching of algebra—where it went wrong, and how it can be put right again.

The truism quoted at the head of this article implies that review of some type is necessary in the study of algebra. Some have postulated that learning is spiral in nature and that maximum benefit could be obtained by designing courses of study so that periodic review of concepts was included. Each attempt to adapt the spiral to the teaching of mathematics has resulted in failure. When the time came for the periodic review, the students had forgotten the concept to be reviewed. The teacher was faced with two tasks: re-teaching the forgotten concept and teaching the new topic for the day. When the time came for the next review, the task was even more difficult because this time two forgotten concepts had to be re-taught as well as the new topic. Soon, the mountain of forgotten concepts became insuperable; and the teacher and the textbook author both quietly deleted the periodic reviews in order to devote all of their attention to the new topic. This led back to the old problem of algebra students being unable to pass a comprehensive final examination because they had not studied any topic long enough for assimilation and retention.

Now, from out of the gloom, a new fallacious theory appears: mastery learning. We will let each student take a unit test again and again until he demonstrates mastery of the topic. Then we will move to the next topic and never again discuss the topic just mastered. Of course, the student still cannot pass a comprehensive final examination since he has had no opportunity for review. This objection is ovecome by weighting the final examination lightly or dispensing with it altogether. The problem isn't solved—now we just don't talk about it. The student who is not brilliant will not attempt the next course, for he knows he is not prepared. Thus, rather than teach and prepare, we will let them weed themselves out—only the gifted will be permitted to survive.

Mastery learning and spirals might be applicable to some subjects but not to algebra. Neither allows the time necessary for the abstractions of a particular concept to be digested and retained. There just is not space for review when the homework consists of 25 problems of the new kind.

TEST NUMBER ONE
SIGNED NUMBERS

Each of the following numerical expressions represents one number. Simplify each expression. (20 min.)

1. $-3[5 - (-4 + 1)] - (-9) + (-3)$
2. $-5[(-2 + 3)(-2 - 4)] - (-2)(-3)$
3. $-|-2| + 4 - |-3 + 2|$
4. $2[3 - 2 + 10] - [(-3)(5 - 6)]$
5. $2^2 - 2^3 - (-3)^2$
6. $2^2 - 1^4 + (-3)^2 - (-2)$

What Would Happen?

But—what would happen if the emphasis in the problem sets was on review? What about 25 review problems and only four or five problems of the new type? What about an easy-to-read development of a small *increment* of a new topic in the text, while the problems in the problem set review all previous concepts? Then the new increment could be practiced for four or five homeworks until the next increment of the same topic was presented. The student could stand on a firm understanding of the first increment to reach for understanding of the next increment. What would happen, in short, if we were to try *an incremental development with a continuous review*?

To find out, I augmented my Prentice-Hall college-level beginning algebra

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book with 130 extra problem sets so it could be used for a full year by high-school students. In August 1980, over 1,300 Algebra I students in 21 Oklahoma public schools* were given the California Achievement Test in mathematics (level 18C) to determine individual preparedness and capabilities. Teachers in these schools are teaching one section out of my book and one or more sections out of their regular book. The experiment is being monitored by the Oklahoma Federation of Teachers (AFL-CIO), who will certify the results. Sixteen tests, ten to twenty minutes each, will be given on 16 fundamental topics of elementary algebra. These tests will be spread out over four months and will be given only after the topic has been completed in both books. The first four tests were given in February 1981; the topics tested were signed numbers, evaluation of expressions, solution of simple equations, and addition of like terms; the problems were selected from problems submitted by the teachers. (A sampling of the tests is reproduced here.) Please note that the tests test *learned skills*. Vocabulary, IQ, and game-playing ability will not help on these tests. They have no cultural bias.

For the purpose of analysis, the students were grouped according to their August CAT scores as low (below 44 per cent), low-medium (45 per cent to 63 per cent), high-medium (64 per cent to 78 per cent), and high (above 78 per cent). Not every student took every test. One school used two different teachers. No CAT scores were available for about 10 per cent of the students, but their scores on the algebra tests were included in the totals. Before drops, transfers, etc., the control group had 841 members and the test group had 519 members.

The first thing to note is that the Saxon students outscored their control counterparts on every test at every ability level by a considerable margin. Then notice that on every test the low Saxons outscored the high-medium controls and that, with one exception, the low-medium Saxons outscored the high controls. Lastly, look at the totals and note that the Saxons outscored the controls by 109 per cent on signed numbers, 64 per cent on evaluation of expressions, 141 per cent on solving equations, and 108 per cent on adding like terms. These differences will increase with each passing month, as the Saxon students practice every concept every night. We should take special note of the control-group scores on solving equations. After six months of algebra, they were able to solve only two of the ten equations, and the lower three groupings were almost without any ability in this crucial area of mathematics.

Indescribable

A minimal statistically significant difference in the scores would have been gratifying, because in the past no book has ever been shown to be statistically superior when both groups had the same teachers. An overall gain of 5 or 10 per cent would have been amazing, and a gain of 20 or 30 per cent would have been unbelievable. But what adjectives can adequately describe gains of 64 per cent, 108 per cent, 109 per cent, and 141 per cent when both groups had the same teachers, and the only difference was in the books used? Overall, Saxon students's scores were more than double those of the control group.

What is responsible for this tremendous gain? The incremental, continuous development is a giant step forward, but it alone cannot explain the extreme disparity in the results of these first four tests. The so-called new mathematics per se is not to blame, for my book gives adequate coverage to the topics and vocabulary of the new mathematics. The teachers certainly are not to blame, for these results show that they can do wonders if given adequate teaching tools.

The real culprits are the self-appointed standard-bearers of the new mathematics, who, with arrogant ineptness, have written the books from which the teachers have been forced to teach for twenty years. They brought with them an aura of omniscience and righteousness that placed them above criticism by people whose only attributes were brains, education, and common sense.

Their books have not harmed the brilliant students, but their effect on the rest has been devastating. A litany of their defects would be almost endless, but a few of the most egregious should be mentioned. All the words have been removed from these books because some children read poorly. The words have been replaced with arrows and shaded areas that make the books look like Chinese puzzles. This takes care of the poor reading but does not aid algebra instruction, because poor readers are notorious for their inability to solve Chinese puzzles. The good students also suffer, because they find the Chinese-puzzle development inscrutable at best. Look at your child's algebra book and see for yourself.

These books confuse and frighten

	TEST ONE SIGNED NUMBERS 15 Problems		TEST TWO EVALUATION 15 Problems		TEST THREE EQUATIONS 10 Problems		TEST FOUR ADDING TERMS 10 Problems	
	Average Number Correct							
	Saxon	Control	Saxon	Control	Saxon	Control	Saxon	Control
Low	6.02	1.74	6.31	2.45	3.15	1.23	5.33	1.90
Low-Medium	6.46	2.91	7.47	3.24	4.43	1.25	6.73	2.66
High-Medium	9.72	4.23	10.18	6.01	5.75	1.89	7.90	3.58
High	11.99	6.36	11.53	8.64	7.04	3.66	9.12	5.79
Total (Ave.)	8.36	4.00	8.83	5.38	5.26	2.18	7.40	3.55

*Carnegie, Cushing, Del City, Holdenville, Lexington, Lindsay, Madill, Marlow, Moore, Oklahoma City (2), Okemah, Okmulgee, Ponca City (2), Purcell, Seminole, Stillwater, Tecumseh, Wetumka, Yukon.

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TEST NUMBER TWO
EVALUATION OF EXPRESSIONS

Find the value of each of the following expressions by replacing the variables with the proper numbers. (20 min.)

	Expression	Values of the Variables
1.	$x - y(-z + y)$	$x = 2, y = -3, z = -1$
2.	$-(x + y)(xy + a)$	$x = 2, y = -3, a = -1$
3.	$x(y^2 - z)$	$x = 3, y = -2, z = -3$
4.	$-b - bc^2$	$c = 2, b = -1$
5.	$cd + a^2 - d$	$d = 2, c = -1, a = -2$
6.	$y - yc(y - c)$	$y = -2, c = -1$

students by belaboring concepts that are trivial and by giving insufficient emphasis to concepts that are fundamental. They teach under the function, associativity and commutativity, and they neglect signed numbers and the solution of simple equations. Because students haven't acquired adequate equation-solving skills, they are unable to handle any but the most rudimentary word problems. The authors ignore this fact and clutter the books with word problems that would be too difficult for Algebra I students anyway. The word problems that are not too difficult are poorly written, and problems requiring several different thought patterns are presented at one time and then snatched away before even one type can be understood. These problems instill in many students a fear of word problems which is never dispelled.

The Most Wounded

The standard books also neglect simple manipulatory skills and almost totally ignore scientific notation. Ask your local high-school teachers of science, chemistry, and physics to detail their struggle to teach meaningful scientific concepts to students who are algebraically unprepared. This almost complete denial of knowledge of Algebra I is especially harmful to minorities and disadvantaged students because many of them lack the verbal and game-playing skills necessary to catch up later. Go back to the chart again and note the extremely poor scores of the less gifted control-group students in signed numbers and equation solving. By February of their freshman year, inadequate textbooks have crippled these students for life. They have been weeded out and will never be doctors, dentists, engineers, or physicists, nor will they ever do anything else that requires the knowledge that they have been denied.

We have sat back and let these sciolists destroy our children's mathematical ability, and undermine the perception of mathematics itself. We are all guilty for letting this happen. The first time a seventh-grader brought home a mathematics book that his college-graduate father could not decipher, he should have raised unmitigated hell. Instead, we have all let these well-meaning pseudo-theoretical mathematicians convince us that they were teaching the students great thoughts that we, as adults, were not smart enough to understand. This was to be a matter between the teacher (who also did not understand), the child, and those who had written the books—parents definitely not welcome. Also culpable are our competent theoretical mathematicians who have stood idly by and watched without protest as this fiasco came to full bloom. Shades of Alice in Wonderland and New Clothes for the Emperor! We have let this go on for twenty years.

TEST NUMBER THREE
SOLUTIONS OF EQUATIONS IN ONE VARIABLE

Solve each of the following equations. Some answers are not integers. (20 min.)

1. $3(-2x - 2) - (-x) = -2(-x + 4)$
2. $-3(x - 2) - x = -5(x - 5) - 3^2$
3. $2\frac{1}{3}x - \frac{1}{4} = \frac{1}{2}$
4. $2(4 - x) = -2(1 - 2x) + 6 - |-4|$
5. $.3 - .2x + .7 = 1.2$
6. $5 - 3(1 - 2x) = -(4 - x) - 2^2$

If the Federal Government had been allowed to assume control of education, it would be impossible to straighten this mess out. But, fortunately, we still have functioning, locally controlled schools and a free-enterprise economy. The Department of Education refused to help me on this project, and my overtures were rejected by six of the largest textbook companies because I was not a committee of experts. But the book will be published—probably by Grassdale, Inc., Box 1456, Norman, Oklahoma 73070. The first hardback high-school version will be printed in August 1981. The first printing will be used by selected Oklahoma schools and possibly a few others. Private schools could use it, but the book won't yet be on the state adoption lists so public schools could not. It will be difficult to fill large orders in the short time remaining before the beginning of the school year; first come, first served.

TEST NUMBER FOUR
ADDITION OF LIKE TERMS

Simplify the following expressions by adding like terms. (10 min.)

1. $2x + 5 - 2 - 3x - 2x - 1 + 7$
2. $3x + 2xy - 5yx + 6xy + 2x$
3. $2 + 5x + 6xy + 2xy - 3yx + 7$
4. $x^2yz + 2x^2yz - 3xy - 7x^2zy$
5. $3x^2y + 2x^2y + 4yx^2 - 15yx^2$
6. $3 - 2 + m^2p - 3pm^2 + 4mmp$

This summer we will submit a detailed analysis of all 16 tests. We intend to prove, among other things, that students who have been taught to handle signed numbers and to solve equations can also be taught to handle scientific notation, to perform fundamental algebraic manipulations, and to solve meaningful word problems without fear. There is no reason Johnny *can't* do math—and maybe learn to read as well. □

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The Moral Case for Reaganomics

Tomorrow and Tomorrow

MICHAEL NOVAK

ON ECONOMIC MATTERS, the thinking of the Left and the Right is not symmetrical. The Right tends to think in economic terms, the Left in moral terms. Thus President Reagan's economic policies have been attacked from the Left primarily on the grounds that they are "unfair"—that is, immoral.

Yet it seems that the moral case for President Reagan's policies is overwhelming. Certainly, their *intention* is moral: to reduce inflation; to create jobs; to rebuild the nation's economic base for future prosperity; and to give individuals at every economic level incentives to work, to prosper, to invest, and to invent.

It is interesting to hear his opponents say that the President wishes to help the rich at the expense of the poor. They do not present much of an argument to establish so grievous a charge. They rely, rather, on vestigial suspicion of *any* conservative economic policy and trust in the self-promoted moral superiority of leftward policies.

The Left claims to be especially interested in the redistribution of income to "the poor and the needy." Yet there are both economic and moral arguments which suggest that attempts at redistribution by the state are not likely to produce the equality they intend. The economic consequences (both inflation and no-growth) are likely to harm all.

Quite apart from the larger debate, there are strong reasons for holding that the economic plan of President Reagan is morally superior to the claims of its critics. Consider the charges made against it:

1. *The Reagan tax deductions favor the rich more than the poor, higher income groups more than lower income groups.* This assertion is supported by frail reasoning. It is altogether obvious that a 10 per cent tax reduction yields a higher number of dollars for those who pay higher taxes, and a lower dollar amount for those who pay less. Thus, for someone in a high tax bracket who owes $70,000 in taxes, a 10 per cent tax cut yields $7,000, while for someone who pays $4,000 in taxes, a 10 per cent cut yields only $400. For the poor who pay no taxes, such a cut yields no reduction. Why is this unfair?

Some persons already pay far higher taxes than others. If everyone already paid an equal amount in taxes, a tax cut of equal percentage would affect all equally. Partisans of redistribution cannot have it both ways. If those with higher incomes pay progressively higher taxes, it follows that tax cuts must yield them progressively higher dollar savings.

Perhaps some would wish to argue that taxes for those who earn over $50,000 per year (about 3 per cent of all taxpayers) should receive no tax deduction at all. Meanwhile, those below that level would receive equal sums of tax relief. That might, abstractly speaking, come closer to the ideal of perfect equality. Yet all evidence suggests that such a distribution would heighten demand, hardly raise savings or investment, and probably so increase inflation as to wipe out the paper benefit conferred.

Disproportionately, high-income earners a) pay more taxes and b) save and invest more than do low-income earners. Moreover, the more economically active people are—the more rapidly the sums they invest change hands—the higher the total amount of taxes they generate. Taxes are generated virtually every time money changes hands. The velocity of economic activity is an immense tax machine. This is far more true when investment goes into new technologies and new productive activities than when it goes into consumption of already available goods and services. For invention generates new wealth—and new taxes.

The nation's economic prosperity depends on innovation, creativity, and new productive capacities. Economic growth consists in a triumph of intellect and spirit over habit.

2. *The Reagan economic plan is "trickle down," which never works.* On the contrary, the Reagan economic plan is based upon a diagnosis of the "upward push" of the poor and lower-income classes, who seek upward mobility. The only hope such persons have for upward mobility lies in a) a growing, innovative, investment-rich economy and b) the containment of inflation. Unless inflation is contained, the progress of lower-income families is virtually impossible. Upward push stops when the economy stops growing and when its industrial plant becomes obsolete. A society which loses economic dynamism cannot offer hope to families of lower income. The premise of American society is upward push, not trickle down.

3. *To favor the rich is to hurt the poor.* If an economy were a zero-sum game, and if the wealth of the rich depended upon the impoverishment of the poor, this proposition might be seriously entertained. It is cant. Many lower-income persons become wealthy during their own lifetimes—through new inventions; through skills in writing, acting, or the arts; through providing new services as Ray Kroc has done with MacDonald's; etc. Such persons take nothing from the poor. They create new wealth. The United States in 1981 is a vastly wealthier nation than it was in 1951, or 1851, or any preceding year, because of the creativity of many who were not born pink.

THE ENVY of the rich so prominent in the thinking of the Left is not morally attractive. A politics of envy is narrow, small, and restrictive. In the name of "compassion," it imprisons everyone in the status quo. A politics of economic and moral vision trusts the intelligence and creativity of all its people, whether rich or poor, in the hope that all together will create goods and services never imagined, for the greater good not only of our own nation but of all mankind.

Thus, those who believe that President Reagan's economic strategy can awaken this nation, so long slumbering both economically and morally, can make a strong moral argument to go with their technical analysis. In the short run as well as the long, the moral order is the source of wealth. To invest productively in the future is a pre-eminently moral act, whose benefits range far beyond the self. The President ought not to stand alone in insisting upon that moral obligation. □

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Books Arts & Manners

Butchers and Calves

ALAN L. MILLER

The Terror Network
By Claire Sterling
Holt, Rinehart/Reader's Digest Press, 357 pp., $13.95

The chain of outrages that have been committed against civilized society for over a decade suggests that the perversion of terrorism is a malignancy within the body politic itself. Hardly a month passes without news of some group of these cretins hijacking an airplane, kidnapping public officials, or bombing a building, and claiming the lives of innocent people. The terrorist's objective is chaos, and he justifies his despicable acts with flaming revolutionary rhetoric. Given the anxious nations who accede to extortion and blackmail, the international mayhem market appears bullish. These societies seem to have forgotten that the first obligation of a civilized country is self-preservation. Claire Sterling reminds them of that duty, and suggests that a first step toward fulfilling it would be the extermination of these loathesome jackals.

An American journalist, Miss Sterling has spent thirty years in Italy, and her byline has appeared in *The Atlantic*, *The Reporter*, *Harper's*, and *The New Republic*. She is currently writing columns for the *Washington Post* and the *International Herald Tribune*. In the course of meticulous research which took her to four continents, the author confronted several challenges, not the least of which was coming to terms with her own disillusioned liberalism. Reflecting upon the Basques in Spain, she remembers slipping across the French border in the 1930s seeking the Resistance which opposed Franco with such gallant tenacity. Now she views their heirs, who, in the absence of the *Generalissimo*, have converted Spain into a crucible of terror where policemen are routinely machine-gunned in Madrid and airports and railway stations are bombed, mangling hundreds. She recoils from a Basque priest who calmly rationalizes the acts, assuring her that "All, all is a struggle. . . . If you don't fight you're destroyed. The weakest go down. That is a law of nature and of Christianity. . . . It is better to be the butcher than the calf."

Indeed. These prophets of nihilism offer a grand design that has nothing to do with nationalism. Since 1968 more than half of international terrorist attacks have occurred in Western industrial democracies. Miss Sterling documents that the most deadly assaults have occurred within a "strategic crescent" running from the Black Sea to the Atlantic Ocean and seeking to encircle the European continent.

Irrespective of the ideological motivations of terrorists, it is not surprising that the offensive has been against the Free World. Nowhere else is it so easy for the terrorists to operate with such freedom of action. The democracies are mesmerized by the myth of their invulnerability. To launch a serious attack against the infrastructure of the urban guerrilla invites reflexive warnings about the specter of fascist repression. Civil libertarians prattle on about the underlying causes of societal ills which, if remedied, will surely remove the rationale for terrorism. After all, is not the terrorist one of God's children in pursuit of an idealistic goal, notwithstanding his extreme means toward that noble end?

Miss Sterling's reply is an emphatic: "Nonsense!" The terrorist, she argues, has no regard for any cause save destruction and little regard for any human life save his own. Recall Che Guevara's dictum: "We must above all keep our hatred alive and fan it into paroxysm, hate as a factor of struggle, intransigent hate of the enemy, hate that can push a human being beyond his natural limits and make him a cold, violent, selective, and effective killing-machine." Thus quoth the sainted freedom-fighter whose hirsute visage still glowers from the walls of college dormitory rooms inhabited by dilettante anarchists yearning to be free of their parental allowances.

Sterling finds nothing humorous or

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harmless about a network of international terrorism that includes 140 bands of marauders from nearly fifty nations. Their organization boasts guerrilla training camps, arms shipments, stolen and forged passports, "safe houses," cash transfers, and contract killers. So it is that the Provisional IRA is funded by the Soviets, a Japanese Red Army cadre rakes Israel's Lod Airport with gunfire in repayment for Palestinian services, and Colonel Qaddafi's billions bankroll apprentice Bolsheviks and provide asylum for them when they are on the lam.

The beneficiaries are of course the Communists, who praise the peace and pass the ammunition behind the skirts of their surrogates. Whether it is the Red Brigades of Italy, Arafat's PLO, the PFLP (Habash's legacy), the Baader-Meinhof gang, the Cuban connection, or some arisocratic dupe who has decided radical chic is amusing, the aim of the terrorist is death and destruction. The sooner the Free World perceives this reality and joins in a concerted assault against terrorists, the closer civilization will be to the millennium these killers profess to be seeking. □

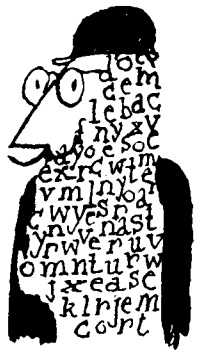
White Supremacy: A Comparative Study in American and South African History
By George Frederickson
Oxford, 356 pp., $19.95

A TALE OF TWO CONTINENTS

JACK CHATFIELD

Comparative studies of slavery in the Western Hemisphere have flourished ever since the appearance of Frank Tannenbaum's *Slave and Citizen* in the 1940s, but until now no American scholar has had the enterprise to attempt a comparative history on the scale of *White Supremacy*. Those who are leery, as I am, of such ambitious undertakings—particularly on such sensitive and elusive subjects as race relations—may rest easy. George Frederickson, who has already distinguished himself through his works on Northern intellectuals in the Civil War period and on white racial attitudes during the nineteenth century, has produced a book remarkable for its balance and its informed intelligence, and one which may well help to launch a new era of scholarship, not only on race but on other subjects as well.

Certainly the histories of the United States and South Africa present some arresting similarities. Founded as mercantile outposts during the seventeenth century, both societies evolved in ways that confounded, even dismayed, their metropolitan sponsors. Both societies clashed with the "savage" indigenes and moved finally to remove or exterminate them. Both relied initially on white servitude but ended by importing "colored" slaves—the Dutch from Angola and East Asia, the English from the West African "Guinea coast." The two colonies endured tensions between themselves and the metropolitan authorities and eventually fought wars of independence to throw off their "tyrannical" authority. And both societies saw the forced abolition of slavery during the nineteenth century and the nurturing of new forms of racial dominance and separation.



But as Frederickson points out, such resemblances, however suggestive, are inexact and are only prelude to the stark or subtle contrasts between these two multi-racial, historically white-supremacist nations. Interracial marriage, for example, quickly became an accepted practice in the Cape colony, as it had been in the Dutch provinces of East Asia, and the progeny of mixed marriages encountered no obstacles to their social and political advancement. In America, prosperous and growing slave colonies like Virginia and Maryland banned such "unnatural" unions in the latter part of the seventeenth century, perhaps as much out of a need to preserve the expanding reservoir of slaves as out of simple racism, and South Carolina tolerated extramarital liaisons which became institutionalized but never legalized. Moreover, the Americans applied the "one drop" rule and consigned all mulattos to the Negro caste, whereas in the Cape mixed-bloods moved with relative ease into the European society. Curiously, intermarriage in the Cape, with minor exceptions, occurred *only* between settlers and imported slaves. The so-called Hottentots, though legally free, were considered almost bestial and were outcasts. Thus, in South Africa, the social ranking of slave and indigene was the reverse of what it was in the American colonies.

The bitter and protracted conflict between the Boers and the British authorities, analogous in obvious ways to both our Revolution and our Civil War, in fact reveals some of the profound differences between the South African and American experiences. The Boers, who came to identify themselves as a "chosen people" in an African Canaan, never developed a plantation regime nor a full-blown ideology of white supremacy. Nor did they possess a sense of civilizing mission toward the slaves they employed as house servants, laborers, and skilled craftsmen. The emancipation carried out by the British in the 1830s was an inconvenience not a social revolution, and the Boers greeted it with sullen resignation instead of active resistance.

The British authorities, for their part, were not committed to missionary egalitarianism and made no attempt to "reconstruct" the Boer social order along the lines pursued by the Radical Republicans after the American Civil War. The British paid lip service to notions of equal justice, but in South Africa there was neither a Jeffersonian ideal of equality nor a Fourteenth or Fifteenth Amendment which could be deployed as heavy artillery in a struggle for the overthrow of the racial caste system. Frederickson is certainly correct in saying that the commitment of the United States Federal Government, at first fitful and then increasingly firm in the years after the *Brown* decision, was absolutely indispensable to the success of the American civil-rights movement. And that movement, for all its rhetorical or tactical excess, was securely rooted in American constitutionalism. Civil-rights radicals—and I knew many of them—who looked upon the political system as "the enemy" would have profited from a sojourn in Johannesburg or Capetown.

Indeed, *apartheid* was achieving its consummation under the Nationalist Party in the very days of *Brown* v. *Board of Education*. The "strange career" of South African racial separation

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is, in essential ways, more complex than the American experience. For in South Africa, a sizable and heterogeneous population of Cape Coloreds stood midway between the Europeans and the Africans. It is this group rather than the Bantu which most nearly resembles the American Negro, and readers of *White Supremacy* will be fascinated and perhaps bewildered as they follow Frederickson's account of the progressive disfranchisement of the Colored population in the twentieth century.

Unfortunately, the author's treatment of the modern period, though provocative, is less cogent than his analysis of the earlier years. As a whole, however, *White Supremacy* is a model of its kind —a bold and pioneering work of great elegance and clarity, utterly free of the kind of tendentiousness and cant which obscures the past by drawing it into the narrow orbit of the present day. □

SWELL LETTERS

Ernest Hemingway: Selected Letters 1917-1961
Edited by Carlos Baker
Scribner's, 948 pp., $27.50

THE (MOSTLY) SUNLIT HEMINGWAY

JEFFREY HART

Malcolm Cowley once wrote that Ernest Hemingway was one of the "nocturnal" American writers, and compared him with Hawthorne. I myself have compared him to Picasso's famous painting of the woman looking in the mirror: one countenance is painted in warm colors, cheerful; the alternative countenance is greenish and sickly. This second countenance is at the center of Hemingway's fiction, preoccupied with madness and death, terrifying emotions controlled by the famous style. The many letters collected in this volume represent almost entirely the other countenance, the sunlit Hemingway—though, here and there, the essential nightmare peeps through.

This volume is almost a thousand pages long, and different readers will treat it in different ways. You can skip and browse. By reading the first ten words of a paragraph, you can pretty much tell if you want to read the rest. But the true Hemingway devotee will savor every word, and every brief explanatory footnote by Carlos Baker, who has done a superb editorial job here.

In the brief observations that follow, I will try to give an impression of the experience of reading this volume as it happened to one Hemingway devotee, this reviewer. (All errors in spelling, punctuation, and so forth are EH's.)

THERE is the romance of Paris, in the early Twenties, when the world of art and of the emotions seemed to be in the process of rebirth, whatever the program notes of despair. Hemingway writes to the Sherwood Andersons from Paris in December 1921: "Well here we are. And we sit outside the Dome Cafe, opposite the Rotunde that's being redecorated, warmed up against one of those charcoal brazziers and it's so damned cold outside and the brazier makes it so warm and we drink rum punch, hot, and the rhum enters into us like the Holy Spirit. And when it's a cold night in the streets of Paris and we're walking home down the Rue Bonaparte, we think of the way the wolves used to slink into the city and Francois Villon and the gallows at Montfaucon. What a town."

Hemingway already had his dark knowledge, but he was young and writing a prose that would change the rhythms of consciousness, killing off the nineteenth century. In these letters the whole milieu comes alive again: Stein, Sherwood Anderson, Picasso, Pound, Eliot, Joyce, Ford, Sylvia Beach, Dos Passos—and, of course, the constant Hemingway preoccupation, Scott Fitzgerald.

That this period and the figures in it possess lasting charisma I can testify from experience. For the past three years I have been teaching a course at Dartmouth in the literature of the 1920s, a class which averages around three hundred students each fall term. They respond to the energy, the sense of possibility, the universal conviction that one could, in Pound's phrase, "make it new."

As these letters unfold, the reader finds himself once again in Hemingway Country: Michigan, Madrid, Paris, Kansas City, Havana, Key West, Schruns, the Finca Vigia, Kenya, Wyoming. Early and late, the high spirits are infectious. "How the hell are you?" he writes to Fitzgerald from Hendaye in the fall of 1927:

> What do you think of Men Without Women as a title? I could get no title, Fitz, run through Ecclesiastics though I did. Perkins, perhaps you've met him, wanted a title for the book. Perkins's an odd chap, I thought, what a quaint conceit! He wants a title for the book. Oddly enough he did. So, I being up in Gstaad at the time went around to all the book stores trying to buy a bible in order to get a title. But all the sons of bitches had to sell were little carved brown wood bears. So for a time I thought of dubbing the book The Little Carved Wood Bear and then listening to the critics explanations. Fortunately there happened to be a church of England clergyman in town who was leaving the next day and Pauline borrowed a bible off him after promising to return it that night because it was the bible he was ordained with. Well, Fitz, I looked all through that bible, it was in very fine print and stumbling on that great book Ecclesiastics, read it aloud to all who would listen. Soon I was alone and began cursing the bloody bible because there were no titles in it—although I found the source of practically every good title you ever heard of. But the boys, principally Kipling, had been there before me and swiped all the good ones so I called the book Men Without Women hoping it would have a large sale among the fairies and old Vassar Girls.

One of the startling things, from the perspective of 1981, is how long the shreds of Victorian censorship on sexual and other "indelicate" matters caused trouble for serious artists. Today the nineteenth century has come to seem an extraordinary cultural curiosity—incomprehensible to Chaucer, incomprehensible to Shakespeare or Swift. But as late as July 1938, Hemingway was worrying in a letter to Maxwell Perkins over including the short story "Up in Michigan" in a new collection. The difficulty was that in the story Nick Adams is sexually initiated by an Indian girl. The thing is really idyllic—but the blue-noses apparently still had plenty of cultural power.

Again, as late as August 1940, Hemingway is worrying about possible censorship of the famous "smell of death" passage in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. "If you or charley think that is a dangerous or unpublishable passage I would change it to read instead . . . The passage is meant to be horrifying. It is not meant

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to be gratuitously obscene or unpublishable."

It may be worth reflecting upon these now relatively distant matters. In the entire history of the West, the attitudes Hemingway struggled with here seem a distinct aberration. Severely restrictive attitudes toward sexuality and other "indelicate" matters gained wide acceptance in the middle classes roughly between the French Revolution and the end of World War I. They did so for special reasons; and they never gained wide acceptance in either the aristocracy or the lower classes; they then became residual. It was an exceptional, brief, and limited interlude; an historical curiosity.

The "nocturnal" side of Hemingway occupies very little space in these letters. It comes out chiefly in his sometimes hysterical relationships with rival writers, and most culpably in his rantings about William Faulkner. He is first sycophantic toward Edmund Wilson, then harsh: "Wilson is usually twisting the facts to cover some expressed error of critical judgment he has made in the past or some prejudice or lack of knowledge or scholarship. He is also extremely dishonest . . ." Here I plead *nolo*. Lionel Trilling once told me that if you set Wilson's reviews in *The New Republic* and elsewhere beside their collected versions, remarkable changes had occurred. Trilling had seen the reviews come out. He had read the later versions. I have not had time to do the collation, and maybe Hemingway was right.

As readers of *A Moveable Feast* might expect, Hemingway cannot really handle Scott Fitzgerald. "The laws of prose writing are as immutable as those of flight, of mathematics, of physics. Scott was almost completely uneducated. *He knew none of the laws. He did everything wrong; and it came out right.*" (Italics added.) That last formulation sums it all up, where Hemingway and Fitzgerald are concerned.

It is not true that Hemingway habitually denigrated critics. He corresponded extensively and helpfully with Wilson and Cowley. He was astonishingly patient with Lillian Ross, who had savaged him in a *New Yorker* profile, though he wrote to Bernard Berenson: "She is a strange girl and I like her very much and we are good friends. It is like being good friends with a circular saw." Philip Young's psychoanalytical approach, Hemingway thought, did violence to the integrity of the work of art; and he thought Charles Fenton's work on the early years was inaccurate. He considered Mizener's work on Fitzgerald seriously flawed. And said so.

He could be extremely rough. "Gide had that awful lascivious protestant coldness; like the pastor of the Fourth Presbyterian church who is caught by the janitor interfering with little boys behind the church organ. He is usually apprehended by the janitor." Rough, yes. Wrong, no.

But read about the special Hemingway Bloody Mary on pages 618-619. Wow. Or even better, if that's possible, the Hemingway martini, in a letter to Charles Scribner in June 1947: "We have real Gordon's gin at fifty bucks a case and real Noilly Prat and have found a way of making ice in the deep-freeze in tennis ball tubes that comes out 15 degrees below zero and with glasses frozen too makes the coldest martini in the world. Just enough vermouth to cover the bottom of the glass, ounce 3/4 of gin, and the spanish cocktail onions very crisp and also 15 degrees below zero when they go into the glass."

As Hemingway would have said, that's the "true gen" (intelligence, a Britishism) on the martini. As he also would have said, when the going was good, it was very good.

It must have been extraordinary to have belonged to that small group of young Americans who, in the early 1920s, changed the world. In my judgment, the American moderns changed it for the better in every area of their influence. □

RANDOM NOTES

■ SOME JUNE TITLES: John Lukacs's new book, *Philadelphia: Patricians & Philistines: 1900-1950* (Farrar, $15), is a prismatic view of American society in the first half of the twentieth century, presented through critical and biographical portraits of Agnes Repplier, Edward W. Bok, William C. Bullitt, George Wharton Pepper, Owen Wister, Albert Coombs Barnes, and Boies Penrose.

The Glitter Dome (Morrow/Perigord, $12.95) is Joseph Wambaugh's new novel. The plot concerns the murder of a film-company president.

In *Minnesota Rag: The Dramatic Story of the Landmark Supreme Court Case That Gave New Meaning to Freedom of the Press*—whew!—(Random House, $12.95), Fred W. Friendly commemorates the fiftieth anniversary of what he calls a landmark First Amendment case, without which there would have been no *Pentagon Papers*.

Isak Dinesen's *Letters from Africa, 1914-1931* (Chicago, $25) is edited by Frans Lasson and translated by Anne Born. Miss Dinesen was also the author of *Seven Gothic Tales* and *Out of Africa*.

In *The Moral Majority: Right or Wrong?* (Cornerstone/Good News, $8.95), Robert E. Webber, an "evangelical centrist," argues for a middle road between the liberal-crazy World Council of Churches and Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority.

Harry Rositzke's *The KGB: The Eyes of Russia* (Doubleday, $14.95) is somewhat old hat. The author, who retired from the CIA in 1970, is pretty much content to talk about Hiss-Chambers, Elizabeth Bentley, the Rosenbergs, Andrew Lee, etc.

Will's Boy: A Memoir (Harper, $10.95), by Wright Morris, chronicles the author's early life in the Middle West. Parts of the book have appeared previously.

■ WHAT DO YOU KNOW DEPT.: Nancy L. Peterson's *Our Lives for Ourselves: Women Who Have Never Married* (Putnam, $13.95) discovers a new minority.

—CW

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How German Is It
By Walter Abish
New Directions, 252 pp., $5.95

THE EDGE OF FORGETFULNESS

NEREO E. CONDINI

In the preface to the New York edition of *The Portrait of a Lady* there is a passage that many consider the cornerstone of Henry James's theory of the art of writing:

> The house of fiction has . . . not one window, but a million . . . every one of which has been pierced, or is still pierceable, in its vast front, by the individual vision and by the pressure of the individual will. . . . At each of them stands a figure with a pair of eyes . . . which forms, . . . for observation, a unique instrument, ensuring to the person making use of it an impression distinct from any other. He and his neighbors are watching the same show, but one seeing more where the other sees less, one seeing black where the other sees white, one seeing big where the other sees small . . .

I have given this quotation at length because the house of fiction built by Walter Abish in his novel is ostensibly based on this concept and adopts the same detachment, from both the characters and the scene these characters observe, which James so recommended. The result is an arresting work that

both arouses and freezes our emotions, chilling our marrow at the very moment our sense of guilt is ready to be placated.

How German Is It is a peculiar novel: it's about love, but that love is doomed; it's about war, but that war is over; it's about international terrorism, but the causes and effects of it remain tantalizingly obscure; it's about the new Germany, but the ghost of the old one is lurking in the background, and its inhabitants refuse to acknowledge the impact it has on their consciences. All of this is presented in an extremely controlled diction, a style reminiscent—for its apparent raw objectivity—of Daniel Defoe's *Journal of the Plague Year*.

I say apparent, because it's all a trick. The complexity of Abish's thought grows in fact out of a jumble of clean-cut sentences that, restated at different intervals and under different circumstances, multiply and intensify the meaning we had originally taken for granted. Thus do the characters change before our eyes, and the transitions are so subtle and evasive we are not aware of the manipulations; the metaphors are so pruned and glowing that we do not immediately perceive the dark pit they are nonchalantly exposing.

Tried a year later for his alleged involvement in a terroristic attempt to overthrow the democratic government of the *Bundesrepublik*, Ulrich Hargenau returns to his home in Würtenburg with his second book, about a Parisian love affair, almost completed. For reasons as yet unknown, his brother Helmuth invites him to live not in the family house but in a prototype of the new Germany: the efficiently modern, glossy, imitative town of Brumholdstein. Helmuth is a successful architect at the peak of his career; Ulrich is a writer corroded by doubts and by the memory of his first marriage, with Paula, a member of the Einzieh terrorist group whose senseless killings and abstract ideology had led Ulrich to abandon it.

During his stay at Brumholdstein, Ulrich's initial mistrust of his brother turns into downright fear. It seems that Helmuth is trying nothing less than to murder him; equally puzzling is the fact that all the people Ulrich meets in that town—Egon and Rita, Franz the waiter and his wife Doris, Anna Heller, Daphne, Gottfried—are more or less engaged in political activities indirectly linked to Paula's past associations. But nobody ever professes to be what he really is; each wears a mask, making Ulrich's search for the truth hard and painful.

Could an anarchic movement utterly destroy, in the name of freedom, the glorious, sentimental Germany the bourgeois are recreating? Or isn't it evident that terrorism itself is incapable of undermining the tyranny of day-to-day events? The Dürer-like observer in *How German Is It* denounces terrorism just as he denounces his own incapacity to shake off the present, his tendency to read everything in a biased, pre-set key:

> And Ulrich, who felt pleasantly relaxed, slowly raised his arm, perhaps for no better reason than a desire not to impede the hypnosis, or a wish to please the doctor. For no other reason . . . He knew, he was convinced, he was positive that he was not a good hypnotic subject as he opened his eyes, with his right hand raised in a stiff salute . . . Is it possible for anyone in Germany to raise his right hand, for whatever the reason, and not be flooded by the memory of a dream to end all dreams?

Interested in the moral question, in his consciousness of himself as a writer in contrast to his brother who is interested only in the exterior life, Ulrich is, in the "spreading field" of new Germany, James's posted presence of the watcher. As the moral sense of a work of art depends upon the amount of felt life that has gone into the making of it, it may be asserted that Abish has not thwarted the lesson of the master. □

Darconville's Cat
By Alexander Theroux
Doubleday, 720 pp., $15.95

BEDTIME FOR BOETHIUS

J. O. TATE

Depend upon it: you will find that the obscurantist who meditates his quaint and curious volumes of forgotten lore is also biting his nails over some lost Lenore. If Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella* had been composed by Urquhart of Cromarty; if Poe's "To Helen" had been written by the Melville of *Moby Dick*; if the cookie-cutter form of the Harlequin romance had been glossed by Boe-

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thius—then the result might have been the sublime mulligan [*satura*>satire] served up to us by Alexander Theroux.

In "Theroux Metaphrastes: An Essay on Literature" appended to the paperbound Godine edition of *Three Wogs* (1975), Alexander Theroux explains himself and gives the world the back of his hand. If he wished, he would say, "Hey, you guys! I really mean it!" He compares himself to "the periphrasistic Mr. Micawber . . . Like me, he's a throwback." Theroux celebrates "the leisure, the languor, necessary for art . . ." He knows that he has "a prose style like a Victorian attic." Living as he does in "a society of aphasiates, monoglots, and verbal slugs," he can declare, "I pay taxes to nowts, listen to nowts daily, watch nowts perform on television. But I don't write for nowts." Demanding all from his jug-eared public, he demands no less from himself. He functions as conscious peer of Homer, Cicero, Juvenal, Rabelais, Shakespeare, Milton, Aubrey, Browne, Dickens, Dostoyevsky, Proust, Rolfe, Joyce, and Saki—and says so.

The substance of *Darconville's Cat* is Boy Meets Girl, Boy Loses Girl. The end is Death in Venice. But the "novel" or "romance" breaks off into the form of Menippean satire, or anatomy, and proceeds by way of encyclopedic recapitulation of forms: a sonnet, a blank-verse dialogue, a formal oration, a formal essay, a vulgar sermon, etc., and a multitude of lists. Theroux is a master of tropes, schemes, and rhetorical devices; and for him as for Blake, the road of excess leads to the palace of wisdom. Chapter LXVIII, "The Misogynist's Library," is an invaluable bibliography; we are also given 11 pages which amount to a riotously obscure unfolding of umpteen ways to waste a strumpet. Such is the erudition of righteous indignation.

As in *Three Wogs*, in *Darconville's Cat* we discern the theme of revenge. But dark emotion is only one excess: we have as much of *amo* as of *odi*. The rhetor excels also in naming his lady's beauties, and exalting them. At the end, the struggle of Love and Hate is resolved in a superior synthesis: the last sentence gives the theme of the whole: "Sorrow is the cause of immortal conceptions." The work itself exemplifies the thought, and the ancient wisdom is made new.

This Master Shake-scene Nashes his teeth often enough to keep the local jabbernowl reaching for his *OED*. But he is a master of realist transcription as well as of romantic excoriation and classical form. One stray peeve, a perfectly articulated hatred for Virginia (state and queen), disarms refutation by riding on its own energy:

> The Southern town, a parody of itself, is the prototype from which every other one is copied. Where is the one, for instance, that doesn't have a radio announcer named Don Dale; a private white academy; Muddy Creek; a chili-dog emporium; the State theater; Jaycees with berry-knotted ties; a sheriff called "Goober"; something like the ol' Shuckcorn Place (it's always supposed to be haunted by J. E. B. Stuart); a popular delivery boy-cum-half-wit named Willis Foster; and a local NRA enclave that meets upstairs in the gunshop every Friday night to tell lies and make up stories about niggers, nymphomania, and New York City?

Of Theroux's motherlode, this is but a grain. He defies criticism: the hands holding *Darconville's Cat*, when they do not race to turn the page, pause to admire a beauty or examine an obscurity, or shake with the rebound of laughter. The theme of Love's transmutation into Art subsumes a plethora of side-dishes, including a digression on ears, a travelogue worthy of Marlowe, a catalogue of mercantile mottoes, a list of Southern girls' names. The same Theroux who knows the names of the angels also knows the Southern girl's cadences: "Only one thing faster 'n' better than this au-to, baby boy. Hint, hint."

THE BOOK'S satire on the one hand, and Jacobean efflorescences on the other, are sufficiently dazzling to tempt one to neglect its success as a "straight novel": we have the virtues of tangible setting and developed characters, the pleasures of suspense and even shock. Darconville and his perfidious Isabel, the pathetic Miss Trappe, the suffering Professor Dodypol, are as "real" as any characters in universal fiction. And in the person of Dr. Abel Crucifer, that demoniacal Coptic eunuch who would have enjoyed a confabulation with Dr. Dee and Aleister Crowley, we have a creature of intimidating power and resource.

Darconville's Cat may be the strongest work of fiction published in the United States since *Gravity's Rainbow*—and *Three Wogs*. Roundheads will object, but George Chapman put the case in 1595: "Obscurity, in affectation of words and indigested conceits, is pedantical and childish; but where it shroudeth itself in the heart of his subject, uttered with fitness of figure and expressive epithets, with that darkness will I still labor to be shadowed." Alexander Theroux could adopt Chapman's motto, *Monscium evasi diem*; or he might justifiably claim, as another grand orator unjustifiably did, *Not to know mee argues yourselves unknown.* □

Selected Poems, 1950-1975
By Thom Gunn
Farrar, 130 pp., 12.95

Selected Poems
By Daryl Hine
Atheneum, 128 pp., $11.95; paperback, $6.95

GOOD AND FLASHY

JAMES M. RAWLEY

Thom Gunn's *Selected Poems, 1950-1975* takes reasoned moral commentary as far as it can go, and the end of that road is a lonely place. Gunn began his career in England, part of a generation in revolt against Dylan Thomas's gorgeous, arbitrary use of language. Later he came to America (he has lived in San Francisco half his life) and became part of Yvor Winter's literary coterie. Winters's disciples are chained to lucidity.

In Gunn's "Jesus and His Mother," Mary says, *"I cannot reach to call you Lord, / Answer me as my only son."* Gunn, too, sees God only through the things of this world, and he cannot get enough light on them to satisfy himself. One of his most anthologized pieces, "The Byrnies," praises armored knights because their chain mail catches the sun: *"Central in every link it burned, / Reduced and steadied to a thousand points."* Below the open ground where the knights are is what Gunn calls "the foreign wood"—the realm of unreasoning shade. A forest, even on a bright day, is sinsister to him; he sides, so to speak, with the Sheriff of Nottingham against Robin Hood.

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In a later poem, "Sunlight," the attitude reaches downright worship, as he apostrophizes the sun:

Enable us, altering like you, to enter
Your passionless love, impartial but intense,
And kindle in acceptance round your center,
Petals of light lost in your innocence.

Human beings are blurry and unreliable compared to things. A man walking under the moon is *"lit, / Mere life, by matter traveling sure and high."* Those who try to be hard and firm turn cruel, like the soldiers in "Innocence" and "The Corporal." It is wiser to be weaker, like the man in "Night Piece," going home through fog:

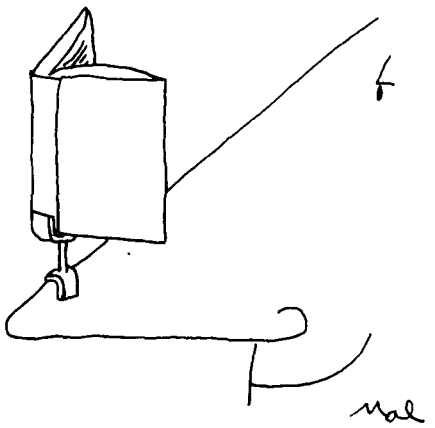
Here are the last few streets to climb,
Galleries, run through veins of time,
Almost familiar, where I creep
Toward sleep like fog, through fog like sleep.

GUNN IS NOT flashy, but he is good. Daryl Hine is good and flashy. He has a doctorate in comparative literature and was editor of *Poetry* from 1968 to 1978. His *Selected Poems* does not tend to banish either of these facts from one's mind. He has epigraphs in Latin, Greek, French, Italian, and Portuguese. He begins an erotic sonnet with a punning reference to one of Gérard de Nerval's most occult poems, and ends it with a line Charles d'Orléans intended for use in a ballade contest.

He says, *"Only the most recherché style, the most affected / Can sustain the weight of time and tears and truth."* He speaks of his own work, *"revised . . . to the nth / Degree."*

Much-revised work has a particular cadence, and this cadence has become a shibboleth among contemporary academic poets. Since it is hard to publish anything but short lyrics, and since modern long poems tend to be collections of fragments in any case, revision is a poet's best hope of forcing value into his work. The result can be an extraordinary richness, as when Hine, apparently casually, remarks, *"If it's childish to complain because it's raining / Childhood's an incurable complaint,"* or when he says of mountains,

They move when you're not looking,
Like stars and stocks, distinctly better looking



From a distance, and chronically unstable.

But there are disadvantages in rewriting. Some of Hine's most brilliant and profoundly moving poems, like "The Wave," have plot problems: why didn't these watchers know that a tidal wave was coming, and what precisely happened to them after the wave hit? Balzac, another compulsive rewriter, described in *Le Chef d'œuvre inconnu* a painter who reworked his greatest canvas so much that it became nothing but a blur.

But in spite of all this, and in spite of a damaging and growing tendency to in-groupiness and preciosity, Hine is an exciting writer. He has honesty and energy. District by district, he tries to describe the world. His reach is greater than his contemporaries'. And a man's reach should exceed his grasp. □

ART

THE GERMAN SURPRISE

RUTH BERENSON

Few people would question the assumption that the history of art in the nineteenth century is pretty much the history of French art, and that, with few exceptions like Constable and Turner in England or Goya in Spain, no other country produced anything that mattered. American museums have long operated on this premise, with English painting hardly represented in their collections, and no German painting at all.

Now, however, the Metropolitan Museum is attempting to redress the balance with a major show, *German Masters of the Nineteenth Century*. It's a real novelty because, except for a smaller traveling display organized by Yale University in 1970, it is the first time since 1935 that German art has really been seen here. Unfortunately, though the selection is broad, there are many important omissions, with some minor figures emphasized at the expense of others equally or sometimes more significant. Still, there are enough masterpieces to make a visit a rewarding experience.

A KNOWLEDGE of French painting is of little help in understanding the German. Until 1871, Germany was fragmented into numerous states, large and small, and so was the German art world; painters in Munich, for instance, were often ignorant of artistic developments in Berlin or Dresden, and each art center had its own idiosyncrasies. Moreover, Germany lacked a continuous artistic tradition (in the eighteenth century, painting commissions generally went to foreigners). But the remarkably gifted members of the group that emerged almost out of the blue around 1800, though differing strongly from one another, were united in one thing: their determination to create a new, authentically German art. Greatly influenced by the philosophers and writers of their time, their work often has a strong literary cast; it tends, especially in the first half of the century, to be linear (and thus to evoke the heritage of Dürer and Holbein) rather than painterly; and, early and late, its practitioners were usually gifted draftsmen, as is attested to by the fifty drawings distributed through the exhibition.

The two authentic geniuses of Germany's nineteenth century appeared at the beginning: Phillip Otto Runge and Caspar David Friedrich. Both came from the north and were steeped in the Protestant Pietism that surrounded them in childhood; later both were strongly affected by literary romantics like Ludwig Tieck and the Schlegal brothers, whom they met in Dresden. Runge's art is dichotomous: vividly real portraits like that of his infant son, Otto Sigismund, posed in a high-chair like a twentieth century baby; and enigmatic allegories like the unfinished *Morning*, a compendium of highly personal symbols

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meant to express his Christian faith and his belief in Nature's eternal renewal. Runge, who died in 1810 when he was only 33, left an *œuvre* consisting largely of fragments which were rediscovered about the same time as the strangely similar work of his English contemporary, William Blake.

Friedrich, too, possessed a deep Christian faith; but his use of symbol is easier to grasp than Runge's. In *The Solitary Tree*, for instance, the oak once struck by lightning brings forth new shoots—an obvious image of Death and Redemption; the fog shrouding the valleys in *Morning in the Riesengebirge* symbolizes the danger and uncertainty the pilgrim must overcome in order to embrace the Cross. Though Friedrich's landscapes were all based on nature, they have a hushed luminosity that no one has ever duplicated; as the French sculptor David d'Angers wrote: "He has discovered the tragedy of landscape."

MANY of the other German romantics known as Nazarenes converted to Catholicism; their recipe for the revival of German art was an eclecticism drawn from the early Renaissance, and they are seen to advantage in this show. Unfortunately, such is not the case with the realist-minded painters who emerged in the 1820s, antedating the French realists by a generation. For some unfathomable reason, Stephan Waetzoldt, Director-General of the Berlin Museums, who selected the exhibits, has chosen to ignore both the fact-oriented painters of the Biedermeier period (roughly, 1820-1850) and the historical realists of the Düsseldorf school, where so many Americans studied. (Some of them can be seen in an adjoining gallery.) Especially regrettable are the omissions of the delicate Munich landscapist, Wilhelm von Kobell, of the sober Hamburg realists, and of the Austrian Ferdinand Waldmüller, whose portraits have an Ingres-like refinement and whose light-filled Alpine views are marvels of microscopic accuracy. His absence seems the more puzzling since another Austrian, Moritz von Schwind, an endearing if minor painter of fairy-tale subjects, is represented by four oils and five drawings.

Nevertheless, there is much to admire: the exquisitely perceptive landscapes of Karl Blechen, especially *View of Roofs and Gardens*, whose cut-off composition (before photography was invented) seems so modern; the incredible versatility of Menzel, who could capture a fleeting moment—a speeding train, the scene on a gas-lit stage—with snapshot directness; Hans von Marées, whose *Oarsmen* of 1873 foreshadows the eurhythmic patterns that the Swiss Symbolist, Ferdinand Hodler, would paint at the turn of the century; and the strange Arnold Böcklin, also Swiss, whose haunting *Isle of the Dead*—one of the most reproduced pictures of its time—is seen in two of the five versions he made of it; the first, painted in 1880, belongs to the Metropolitan, almost its only German holding.

Associate Curator Charles S. Moffett, who coordinated the exhibition for the museum, hopes that it will serve as an introduction to a great but little-known body of art, calling into question the French monopoly of nineteenth century European painting. Given all the show's omissions and the uneven quality of many exhibits, this challenge lacks the strength one hoped for. Nevertheless, it's a beginning; one hopes for many sequels. These Germans speak the same language as the great composers—Beethoven, Schubert, and the rest—who lived at the same time, one that is universally appealing and needs little translation. (To July 5; Art Gallery of Ontario, August 1-October 11.) □

MEDIA

TOO MANY COOKES?

JOSEPH SOBRAN

It would certainly be rash to say that the days of media glory are behind us, but *something* certainly happened with the revelation that the Pulitzer Prize had gone to a fraudulent story. As far as the general public is concerned, this might have been a minor item, a shade less interesting than the revelation that New York's first lady had lied about her third husband.

But of course the general public as such does not exist. Its unity is actually constituted by common objects of attention, and these are supplied by the media. And the media's favorite subject is themselves. (Don't bother checking: that last sentence parses.) For days all we media people could talk about was Janet Cooke. If the President had been shot the day Miss Cooke was exposed, you might not have heard about his wound.

Folks aren't dumb. Heavy dependence on the media is combined with heavy skepticism thereof, a skepticism that previously peaked when Spiro Agnew helped crystallize it back in—heavens! —1969. The media responded with heavy skepticism of Spiro Agnew—warranted, as it transpired—and there is no need to rehearse who had come out on top in that brawl by the mid-Seventies.

WITH Watergate came the self-apotheosis of the media, and it is a measure of the falling-off that the confidentiality of sources, which approached the status of a vital constitutional right in those days, is now, in the era of the post-"Jimmy" morality, openly acknowledged as ethically dubious.

How culpable is the *Washington Post*? Very, I should think. Last issue *NR*'s Winston—relying on a confidential source, be it said—testified to the hothouse atmosphere within the *Post*, where the lust for stories with predetermined editorial angles appears to generate the sort of thing of which "Jimmy's World" approximates the ideal type. Within days, Ben Bradlee progressed from describing Janet Cooke as a young woman who had tragically betrayed her own great talent to dismissing her as a "pathological liar," and the *Post* itself had advanced from self-incrimination to self-congratulation: it had loved not wisely, but too well.

Bradlee himself is among the Republic's great characters, and his book *Conversations with Kennedy* ranks with the memoirs of Willie Sutton in the genre of flamboyant confessional. His protective chumminess with the late President was such that he acknowledged in passing that the "adversary relationship" between the media and government "is not all it is cracked up to be."

Indeed it isn't. I would put it this way: the media maintain an adversary relationship with Republican Administrations. But emphatically *not* with the "permanent government"—the bureaucracy—or with liberal congressmen or big spenders or the New Class generally. This is only natural: the media are part of the New Class. Mythology aside, what happened with Watergate was less

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the toppling than the consolidation of power: the Hive had Washington all to itself.

The alignment was made clear as the Reagan Administration came to town: the media have rallied to the defense of the government Reagan wants to reform. The *Post* has run front-page stories (at City Editor Milton Coleman's instance, says Winston's source) on black families who would suffer if the Administration's spending cuts should go through. My local papers follow suit with headlines like "Reagan Axe to Hurt 20 to 25 Million Poor." Axe-imagery is ubiquitous: the grisly weapon appears simultaneously on the covers of *Time* and *Newsweek*.

And television: ah, television. All three networks should register as lobbies. Speaking of axes, NBC did such a series of hatchet-jobs on Reagan during the campaign that the *Post*'s TV critic Tom Shales—a fashionably shaggy but fine and fair-minded lad—was moved to cry out. More recently, the evening news programs have been focusing on social programs that would be victimized by the Reagan Administration. There seems to be only one humane point of view on these matters.

CBS seems particularly intent on serving the New Class. A profile of a program for treating teenage alcoholics concluded by allowing an administrator to fulminate against the proposed spending cuts. Coverage of the Senate hearings on the Human Life Bill amounted to a straight polemic for abortion, with grisly pictures of deformed infants (none of dead fetuses, deformed or otherwise).

What CBS is missing is the steadying hand of Walter Cronkite. It is hard to imagine him indulging the grim parade of pitiful peglegs and pinheads whom the Reagan people are apparently trying to starve but unaccountably refuse to abort. But Cronkite was of a more sedate tradition; his replacement, Dan Rather, is of Watergate vintage. Rather became a star in a flash, engaging in tense repartee with Richard Nixon ("Are you running for something?" "No, Mr. President, are you?") at a memorable press conference. Maybe Rather feels it is his mission to zap Republican Presidents; Texans in the media are often ruled by the compulsion to prove they have left reactionary attitudes behind them. Who knows? Maybe he just can't control his reporters.

It would be interesting to conduct a sociological survey of reporters, especially the ambitious young career women who are increasingly featured on TV. Is it wild to speculate that most of them are fiercely pro-abortion? Unterminated pregnancies would be calamitous for their careers: try to picture a blonde in her eighth month standing in front of the White House talking into a microphone. You can bet the blondes have pictured it.

The sheer proliferation of professional blondes and professional blacks now on display in the media tells you something about the mind-set in the whole industry. Neither they nor the people who put them there are neutral about the day's events. They are part of a new system and its ethos, to which they are loyal. They probably see themselves as agents of "change" even as they oppose change. The particular *kind* of change they want now stands in danger of interruption; hence the "adversary" stance.

Their world-view gives them a built-in angle on the news and helps determine their very selection of what counts as news. About that world-view they have a corporate certitude that transcends their knowledge as individuals; just as the editors of the *Washington Post* had a corporate belief in "Jimmy" that overrode their individual doubts about Jimmy's existence.

What has corrupted the media has been the mania for the exposé, the desire to appear "in the know" about everyone else's corruption, from high officials to the society at large. They pretend to know when they only suspect, and they fail to question their own suspicions. Until "Jimmy," they have too seldom suspected themselves. But seeing a colleague shamed and ruined can have a healthy effect on the conscience. We'll see. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

IN A FLEA'S NAVEL, *by Don Freeman (A. S. Barnes, 229 pp., $8.95).* A generation ago John Crosby, who wrote television criticism for the *New York Herald Tribune*, quit—he could not, he said, countenance the thought of a career that required him to spend most of his working hours viewing television. When Wilfrid Sheed was invited to review movies for *Esquire* magazine, he confessed to a friend that he reviewed movies "in the same sense that pigeons review statues." Don Freeman, whose base is the *San Diego Union*, and who is widely syndicated, is here with another book on television (the first was *Eyes as Big as Canteloupes*) which informs us of several things. The first is that if you are prepared to look for it you will find in quite regular television fare quite extraordinary talent. Another is that when you view television it is not out of line to acknowledge that talent, or distressing to remark it. Don Freeman is well known for an extraordinary geniality of temperament: the pleasure he takes from being entertained is a pleasure he cannot bear to husband. It is inconceivable that he was ever other than a television critic, though he has written several books unrelated to the medium, wrote drama and sports reviews, has written jazz criticism, and still teaches writing (at U. Cal., San Diego). The present volume comments on most of the television actors you have heard of, and many you haven't. The tone is appreciative; the questions he asks relevant; the prose pleasing; the temper—the good temper—very nearly unique.

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

NEW YORK CITY BASEBALL—*The Last Golden Age: 1947-1957, by Harvey Frommer (Macmillan, 219 pp., $11.95).* The statistics are impressive. "Except for 1948, each of those 11 years from 1947 to 1957 saw a New York City baseball team competing in the World Series. The New York Yankees won nine pennants and seven World Series—five of them in a row. The Dodgers won six pennants and one world championship. Three times they finished second. In 1950 and 1951, they were dramatically beaten by a home run in the last game they played, denying them pennants. The Giants won two National League championships and one World Series. Thirteen Most Valuable Player awards, ten earned-run titles, eight Rookie of the Year honors, seven home-run titles, five no-hitters, and four batting championships were collectively recorded by the players on those New York City teams." Such a record is reason enough for yet another book honoring the city's great teams. Harvey Frommer, whose previous credits include books on sailing and soccer, relates the history of each team, looks at the record, interviews survivors, and offers the best blow-by-blow description of the move west by the Dodgers and Giants to appear anywhere. The move brought down the curtain on the "Last Golden Age," scotching interest in the game for millions of fans. Frommer squeezes more into this relatively slim volume dealing with three teams than many authors have put into entire books on single teams—no doubt thanks to his journalistic style. There is a good deal of the sportswriter's polyester-plaid prose here, but in phrasemaking, not padding. A fine post-mortem, which ought to be the last word on the subject.

JOE MYSAK

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Dark Horses

CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

SINCE John Hinckley Jr.'s attempt on President Reagan's life the country has been deluged by yet another wave of anti-gun hysteria. Although Reagan himself has deplored the rhetorical and political misuses to which Hinckley's little .22 pistol has been put, his protests have been unavailing. So far from accepting the President's refusal to weaken his opposition to gun control as a matter of devotion to principle, the anti-gun lobbyists have chosen to present it as an example of bullheaded stupidity that will not learn from experience, even personal experience. As far as I know, President Reagan is not a hunter. Myself, I'm grateful that if he had to be shot at, the incident didn't occur in the fall, on Opening Day of deer season.

James B. Whisker's *The Right to Hunt* (North River Press/Caroline House, $8.95) is absolutely the best thing I have read on the subject. Whisker, who is a professor of political science at West Virginia University, has written a learned, erudite, and extremely polished little book that is philosophically as well as politically trenchant. It is not a tract; it can be appreciated by sedentary philosophers who have never shot a bolt or reloaded a shell. Intellectually it is probably above the heads of half the gun-control zealots.

Whisker proves that the anti-handgun lobby is only the more publicized vanguard of a substantial segment of American society that is opposed to *all* guns, because of their potential to take life—*any* kind of life—which these people reverence in each of its multifarious forms. This attitude, which the late Albert Schweitzer did so much to popularize, Whisker demonstrates to be not only unlivable but antithetical to the Judaeo-Christian tenets which, for better or worse, undergird Western civilization. Whisker himself takes for granted the existence of a God who has revealed Himself and His teachings to man, and makes this belief the foundation of his argument. If you don't, or can't, buy that, you may as well shut the book.

The Bible, Whisker shows, offers ample justification for hunting. The notion that animal life is of the stuff of human life, that if we have souls so do the moose, only serves to demean humanity in the ethical scheme of the West, where pantheism never got beyond Morningside Heights or Berkeley. In one cogent chapter after another he shows that morally, religiously, historically, and legally there is embedded in our civilization a right to hunt and, correlatively, a right to bear arms. He is devastating in his attacks on Cleveland Amory, Peter Singer, et al. who believe that animals have "rights"; life is an *attribute* of a mule-deer, he says, not its possession. He is equally devastating in his dismissal of the anti-hunting canon of complaints: that hunting is uncivilized, that it produces aggression, that it is macho. Without actually saying so, he seems to suggest that people who talk this way are really interested in promoting the values of the New Culture: feminism, passivity, pacifism, and moral relativism. He grapples head-on with the charge that hunting is uncivilized: it is, he says (leaning heavily on an essay by Ortega), *pre-civilized*, serving to keep alive instincts that man must preserve. As for the argument that hunters seek to destroy nature, Whisker disposes of it with the profound observation that hunting animals is man's most direct and satisfying way of communing with the natural world.

JOHN G. MITCHELL'S *The Hunt* (Knopf, $11.95) is a book of a wholly different sort: a beautifully written narrative of the hunt and the passions it arouses among sportsmen and antisportsmen. It is full of quiet irony, delicate ambiguity, and good plain sportswriting. Mitchell, who grew up in a family of hunters, has made a personal decision not to draw down on game any more, but the world of the hunter obviously continues to draw him close. Ortega was onto something, and John Mitchell, unarmed, is in touch with his primal instincts still. □

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Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

[WALTER] WILLIAMS:

Reagan and the Negroes

Some states have laws saying your ear lobes can't be pierced without parental consent and parental permission. . . . Some civil libertarians are trying to ban the right of the parents to determine whether an abortion should be performed on their daughter. (Title supplied; actual title: *Why Reagan Presidency Could be Good for U.S. Blacks*. Professor Williams, a Negro conservative, was interviewed for *Human Events* by Allan C. Brownfeld.)

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(NR extends maximum freedom in this column, but NR's maximum freedom may be another man's straitjacket. NR reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable. —Pub.)

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Look Who's Sleeping with Whom

On The Right

New York, April 29—A while ago, in all innocence, HHS chief Richard Schweiker nominated Warren Richardson for a post as one of his assistants. Said Richardson had been for four years (1969-1973) the chief lobbyist for an outfit called the Liberty Lobby. Said outfit is a hotbed of antisemitism and name-calling centered around the mysterious Willis Carto, who regularly poisons the wells of polemical discourse. Mr. Richardson said that his association with the Liberty Lobby was forced on him by economic hardship, and one must be charitable to such cases, whether dealing with a Richardson or an Abscam defendant. Moreover, since Richard Schweiker is a man of splendid character one is disinclined to believe that he would consciously surround himself with such persons as had been associated with Carto. Perhaps in the interval since 1973 Warren Richardson traversed the road to Damascus. But if he did so, he was silent about it. There is no public record wherein he pointed to the iniquities of his former associates—until it became convenient to do so during his hearings.

Anyway, recognizing that he would never get a Senate confirmation, last weekend Richardson withdrew, and the case will be forgotten by next weekend. Which brings to mind the interesting difference between the way association with the Liberty Lobby is treated in Washington, and the way association with the Institute for Policy Studies is treated.

THE ONLY difference worth noting between the two institutions is that the IPS people tend to be more literate, more erudite. They're not as literate or as erudite as Lenin or Trotsky. But they are as despicable, notwithstanding which dozens upon dozens of Washington bureaucrats and congressional aides associate in various ways with the IPS, and such senators as Mark Hatfield and journals as *The New Republic* send valentines to the IPS. The outgoing head of the National Endowment for the Humanities, which distributes a cool one hundred million bucks of federal money to scholars bent on studying this or that, refers to Marcus Raskin, the dominant figure at IPS, as "America's most important intellectual." If this were true, then we'd be in such condition in America as Germany was at a time when one might, in all truth, have said that Goebbels was Germany's most important publicist.

The New York Times Magazine, in a revealing compilation done on the IPS entitled "The Think Tank of the Left," by Joshua Muravchik, tells us more than we need to know to conclude about IPS what a close reading of almost any publication by the Liberty Lobby would tell us about the prejudices of that organization. IPS is funded personally by Cora Weiss, the heiress of the Fabergé fortune, who went repeatedly to Hanoi, as did Marcus Raskin, to whoop it up with the Communists. Two years ago both Weiss and Raskin refused to join Joan Baez and others in reproaching the North Vietnamese for their slaughter of the Boat People, hailing instead Hanoi's "extraordinary effort to achieve reconciliation among all of its people."

Richard Barnet, senior fellow at IPS, took the line that the U.S. Government was composed of "war criminals," determined to "create widespread civilian casualties." An IPS publication explains that Americans face danger not from the Soviet Union but "from those within their midst who would destroy the best features of their country in order to militarize it against an illusory enemy." Eqbal Ahmad, an IPS associate, in 1976 praised China, Cuba, and North Vietnam as "the forces of liberation." Malcolm Caldwell, IPS fellow, in 1976 denounced "Laotian and Cambodian reactionary refugees." Gareth Porter, described by IPS head Robert Borosage as "a brilliant scholar," wrote a book calling Pol Pot "only the latest victim of the enforcement of an ideology that demands that social revolutions be portrayed as negatively as possible." Presumably a previous such victim was Adolf Hitler. Caldwell was murdered in Cambodia. Either by Pol Pot, whom he admired, or by the North Vietnamese, whom he admired: it isn't clear which side did it. Both could have done so without noticing. They don't keep figures on solitary executions. Such activities as murder can hardly shock IPS types like Saul Landau, IPS fellow, who says that Castro put Huber Matos "in jail for correct reasons." Matos, you will recall, was tortured for twenty years because he resisted his former companion's totalitarianization of Cuba.

With this clubbable group of men and women are associated, in various but by no means intangible ways, such as former State Department advisor Anthony Lake; former Treasury official Gene Godley; former principal domestic advisor to Jimmy Carter, Stuart Eizenstat; Patricia Derian, formerly of State; former Senator Abourezk the Israel-hater; Paul Warnke the SALT negotiator; Douglas Fraser of the UAW; Senator Tsongas of Massachusetts; Congressmen Conyers and Dellums. It is absurd to say that these folks share the central position of the IPS. But Richardson swore that he shared none of the aberrational positions of the Liberty Lobby. He was given the back of Congress's hand. □

HOTROCKS V. GALBRAITH

New York, May 4—John Kenneth Galbraith, who I repeat is a great tease, has been amusing himself lately by a) reading the reviews of his new, and most marvelously readable, book, *A Life in Our Times*; and b) testifying before congressional committees, doing his best to block economic progress. For personal reasons, I hope that Professor Galbraith will live forever: but the autumn of his life would be sorely depressed if he lived to see a society in which taxes were less, and the people better off.

His tactic then, in opposing Reagan's tax cuts, is to look innocently at the chairman, and with a perfectly straight face say something on the order of, "You know, I've criticized the habits of businessmen for many years, but I *do* think it does them an injustice to suggest that they are a class of mass malingerers. To suggest they need tax relief in order to get from them more productive work is really an assault on their character, with which I wouldn't want to be identified." This is class Galbraith. Rollicking stuff. About as sound as Confederate currency. (One wonders whether the chancellor of the exchequer for President Davis was a distant ancestor of Mr. Galbraith.)

Let us, in order to make the case as difficult as possible for the supply-siders, take a company president who is making $400,-

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000 per year. The tacit premise of Galbraith is that a man being paid that much money who isn't already giving all his energies to his company is something of a sloucher. Sounds right, does it not?

But let us examine, more closely than Professor Galbraith would encourage us to do, the situation of Mr. Hotrocks under existing legislation. He is, by the estimate of the marketplace, a pretty hot property —which is why a company is willing to pay him $400,000. But Hotrocks thinks not in terms of the abstract figure of his paycheck, but the real figure—which, using round numbers, is $200,000—i.e., what is left after taxes.

The company that needs to put out $0.4 million to get him is paying—just to begin our inquiry—$0.2 million extra, which sum is not now available for other purposes. Such as? Well, expansion of the capital plant. The development of new markets. The employment of more people. Thus the employer is penalized by the size of the "wedge," the graphic term by which the economists describe the difference between what it costs an employer to hire somebody, and what that somebody ends up with in his pocket—the bigger the wedge, the greater the impediment to employment.

So Hotrocks has his $200,000. Some of it he has to burn just as we need to burn calories in order to sustain life. Shelter, food, medicine, education . . . insurance . . . travel . . . boat . . . jewelry . . . antiques . . . Note that we are traveling down the line, from indispensables, in the direction of luxuries. It concededly helps the economy if Hotrocks eases up on the luxuries, and increases his savings, because the rate at which Americans save is, by comparison with other industrial states, awesomely small, and we need a capital pool. We in America have a predilection to spend lavishly, but that apart, we have, with the exception of two Scandinavian countries, the highest marginal tax rates in the world.

So that Hotrocks somewhere along the line, finding himself with, say, thirty thousand uncommitted dollars to spend at the end of his budget year, is going to decide whether to spend the dollars or to save them.

If he decides to save them, and if in the course of his lifetime he has accumulated savings that yield $106,000 in interest or dividends, he will be advised that every dollar of interest from his fresh savings will be taxed at 70 per cent. Hotrocks being no fool, he reasons that banking the thirty thousand will yield him $3,000 in revenue (at 10 per cent), but that 2,100 of these dollars will be taken from him by the government, leaving him with $900. He will reckon, at the current inflation rate in round figures, that the value of his savings is going to shrink by 10 per cent. So: on the upside he stands to make $900; on the downside, he will lose $3,000. So what does he do?

He looks at a boat, or an antique, or some gold shares that will swing with inflation. Or he'll blow it on Good Times.

Such are the considerations that go into thinking about Reagan's proposed tax cuts. If we follow the prescriptions of Professor Galbraith, we will quickly discover that, in his ideal world, everyone, after paying food, shelter, education, and medical bills, will be left with—just enough money to buy Mr. Galbraith's new book, i.e., $16.95. □

COLLEGE TALK

Tucson, Ariz., April 24—The hotel room telephone rang: my hosts were in the lobby, waiting to take me to dinner before the speech. I was mildly startled, having thought they would be calling for me at 6:15, and it was only 5:59. I promised to change clothes immediately, and flicked on the television while reaching for a fresh shirt.

"Are you planning to mortgage your house or your farm to send your child to college?" A youngish woman, sitting behind one of those studio desks, smiled. "Well, not so fast. William F. Buckley, who is here to lecture tonight at the University of Arizona, says that a college degree isn't worth it. Details at 10 o'clock."

Flashback to press conference that afternoon at the airport. What did I think about general conditions in American colleges? Well, I said, one thing I think they lack is a sense of mission. This is a problem that traces to a doctrine called academic freedom. It is, really, a doctrine that tells you that you can't ever learn anything, because you can't "prove" that something is right, and therefore that something is wrong. Under academic freedom all ideas are theoretically fated to start even in the race. If that is so, then epistemological progress is not possible, and the psychic rewards of learning are substantially vitiated.

What's the other objection?

Well, I said, too many Americans feel they have to go to college in order to qualify as legitimate citizens. By the standards of France and Great Britain, about eight times as many Americans (including blacks and Hispanics) go to college. For instance (I said) it is estimated that to profit from a college education you need an IQ of 110 or higher. About 25 per cent of Americans have such an IQ. But about 40 per cent go to college. The figures would then suggest that about 30 per cent of those attending college aren't getting much out of it. What they do get, often, is personal frustration and family indebtedness. The American community should stop looking at college degrees as prerequisites to useful and complete lives. Often people who aren't ready to go to college at 18 develop intellectual interests later in life and can satisfy these by later learning.

All of the above reduced to: "Think twice before making sacrifices to send your child to college." Give that reporter a Pulitzer Prize.

And, at another college, a question: "Do you support President Reagan's cut in aid to education? Our tuition is scheduled to go up 11 per cent next year." (This is at a law school.)

Answer: I regret the rise in tuition. Even as I regret the rise in lawyers' fees. But suppose that someone were to appear before you and announce that your tuition fees would be cut in half next year (applause). Well, that's what you would be paying for tuition if the dollar had held its purchasing power during the past ten years. Its failure to do so is the result of the government's having got into such ventures as, well—federal aid to education. (Sullen silence, tiny smattering of applause.)

"But doesn't everyone in fact need to have a college degree, because employers won't look at an applicant who doesn't have one?"

Answer: If there is justification in state laws denying employers the right to inquire into an applicant's age, sex, race, or religion, we might toss in a prohibition against asking whether there is a college degree, except where directly relevant. The lady the other day who won the Pulitzer Prize, however briefly, said she had graduated from Vassar; in fact, she had not. No one, however, doubts the quality of the prose that got her the prize, never mind that she was writing fiction, not non-fiction. A college degree is an adornment of sorts, but the currency is debased by the prodigality with which degrees are handed out. It is no safer to assume that an applicant with a college degree is bright, than to assume that the applicant without a college degree is dumb.

At the reception after the speech someone threw a pie at my face and in the ensuing commotion escaped, unnoticed. The episode was worth it because the next night, at the dinner with the law-school people, a huge pie was brought in and placed ceremoniously in front of me. On it was inscribed: "The right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."

I now have a counterforce capability. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

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Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

DEFINITIONS

A. Natators — 5 1 47 132 98 69 61 114

B. In an impassioned manner — 71 20 129 138 142 40 48 55 116 88

C. *The ancient name of* York, England — 77 27 124 137 38 140 99 3

D. A city in S. E. Sicily — 37 31 6 121

E. Another term for the "blues" — 86 26 131 46 18 144 62 73

F. What the chick did to the egg's shell — 94 63 10 105 133 139

G. Momentous — 97 125 45 33 64 43 66 21

H. MOTOR BEN (anagram) — 74 12 8 143 76 111 102 126

I. LIVE EMUS (anagram) — 2 13 4 70 78 36 117 28

J. The English poet laureate, 1715-1718 — 107 57 32 23

K. To lie dormant — 119 84 53 148 87 72 127

L. Natural abilities — 123 7 29 42 96 52 60 82 92 100

M. One who gathers certain hard-shelled dry fruit — 145 17 9 15 85 30

N. Generalship — 19 101 67 93 104 106 83 136

O. A city west of Helsinki — 11 24 59 65 75

P. Mistaken — 34 80 89 16 56 95 141 112 54

Q. Hit a fly (or tried to?) — 39 50 81 110 120 118 134

R. Critical evaluations (as of books); nowadays too often synopses — 44 115 22 109 90 128 68

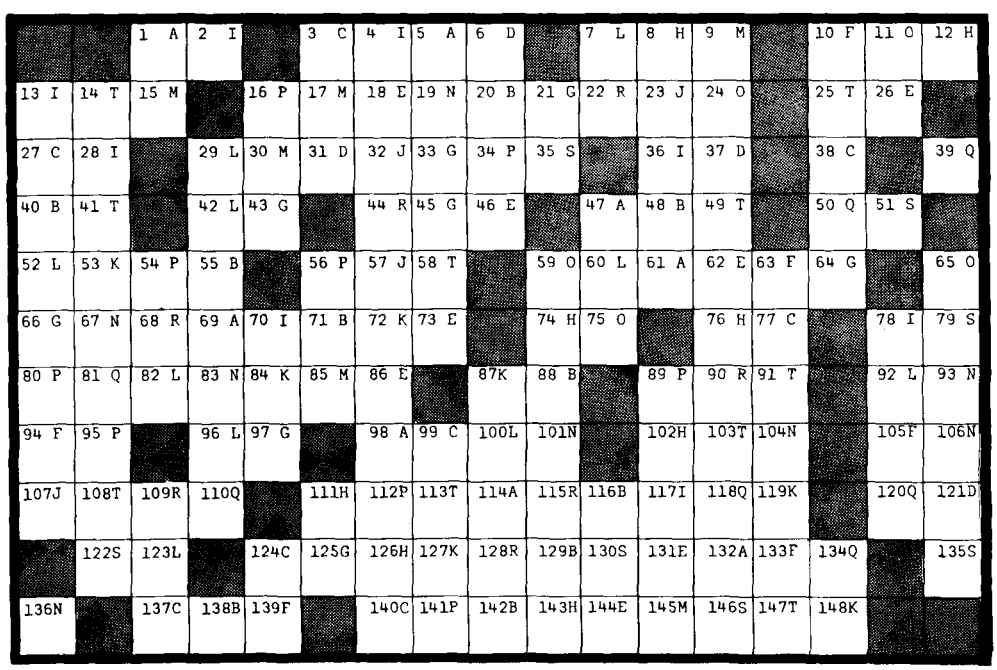
S. A period or state of decline — 51 122 135 79 146 35 130

T. These are used by double-talkers who write down their thoughts — 91 14 25 58 103 108 41 113 49 147

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the words (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 626 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.



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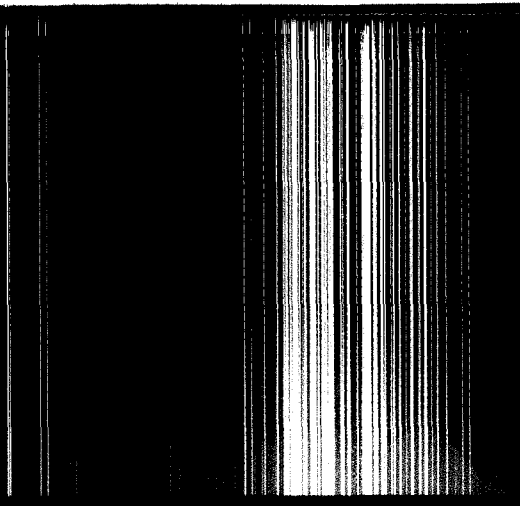

MILLIKEN CREATES THE IMAGE.

You may not think that a machine can be called an artist.

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No matter what fiber is being used.

And since the Millitron is computer-controlled, it can change from one pattern to another in a matter of seconds. So whichever pattern you order, you can be certain that it will be readily available.

The Millitron art exhibit is now on display. You can see it at your Milliken dealer. And remember, whatever image you want on your floors, Milliken will create it.

MILLIKEN
CARPETS
LaGrange, Georgia

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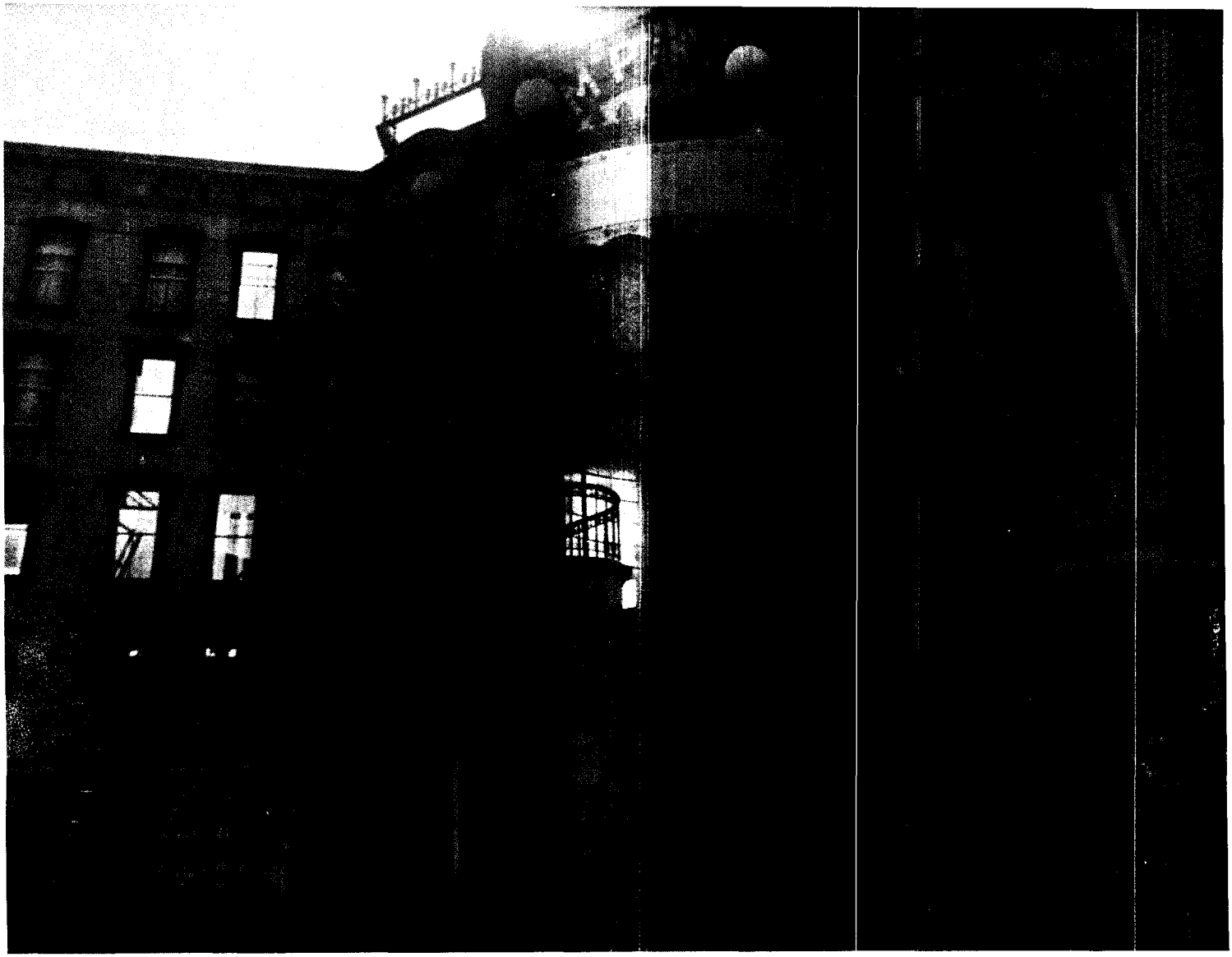


Main intersection at a Hollywood oil field.

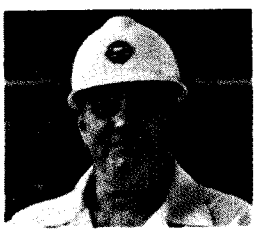
"This is the set where they shot 'Hello, Dolly!' What you can't see is us pumping oil behind it."

"One of the strangest places I ever produced oil," says Gulf Production Superintendent Eddie Culbertson, "was right here in Los Angeles, in the back lot of the 20th Century-Fox studio.

"They found an oil field right under a permanent set being used for shooting the movie 'Hello, Dolly!' in 1969.

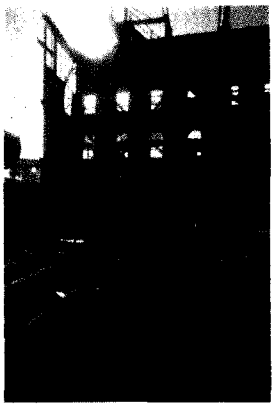
The indirect approach

"How do you get at the oil without disturbing the set, the streets, or the buildings? With a technique called directional drilling. The oil is as far as one mile from the surface location of the drill sites, which were hidden by the scenery.



"We showed them how they could have their oil and their movies.'

"Directional drilling has other advantages. You can drill 20 or 30 wells from just one drill site. Or you can drill for some offshore oil without putting the drilling rig right in the water.



"Behind the scenery are 22 producing oil wells."

Keep America beautiful

"Sometimes it's a real challenge getting the oil without spoiling the landscape. Directional drilling is one way to do it.

"But there are other ways, and at Gulf we're using all of them—doing all we can to keep supplying energy for tomorrow."

Gulf

Gulf people: energy for tomorrow.

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